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A History
of the
Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt



PORTRAIT OF SALADIN (?)

FATIMID SCHOOL

About A.D. 1180

From F. R. Martin, *Paintings and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*.
London, 1912.

A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt

Translated from the Arabic of al-Maqrīzī

With Introduction and Notes

by

R. J. C. BROADHURST

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In grateful memory of
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and
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Editor's Preface

Classical Arabic Literature is still almost inaccessible to most scholars, and is even less read and enjoyed by the general educated public. Neither the range of its subjects—from poetry and folklore to historiography, religious speculations and philosophy, not to mention scientific works of all kinds—nor the skill and artistry of the writers are generally recognized outside the small circle of specialists. The non-specialist does not always realize that Arab literature flourished far earlier than did most European literatures and that it reached its zenith (and, one might say, began to stagnate) at a time when the latter were just beginning their ascent. Not all of the authors, nor even a majority, were Arabs; they used Arabic as the *lingua franca* of the medieval Muslim empire.

The Library of Classical Arabic Literature aims at making the work of the Arabic-writing thinkers and literati available to those scholars and lovers of literary works unable to read them in the original. Translations of some works into various European languages, including English, have appeared. Most of these, however, lacked grace by adhering slavishly to peculiarities of the Arabic style; they failed to express the idiom used in the original by its equivalent in the language of translation. Others, by paraphrasing, deviated so far from the original text that the scholar could not always be sure of the correct rendering of the author's thought. Memorable modern exceptions to this statement are Enno Littmann's German translation of the *Arabian Nights*, Sir Hamilton Gibb's translation of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Travels*, and the most recent version of the Koran by A. J. Arberry.

This series plans to present readable and enjoyable versions which, though cast into idiomatic English, will remain true to the author's own thoughts. They will be introduced by an essay on the work and its author, his life and *oeuvre*, his rank and role in medieval Arab literature and scholarship.

Full scholarly and interpretative notes will give added help and information. Thus, the historian, the sociologist, the literary critic or the humanist, as well as the philosopher may find valuable research material for his own field.

But these works should—and can—be read for their own sake. This series differs from previously offered translations in that it will, whenever applicable, emphasize the relevance of the thought contained in these ancient writings for our own culture and times. It is hoped that this approach will enrich its value and provide an added dimension for our generation in the understanding of the ideas of a brilliant civilization of the past.

In reading Maqrīzī's *Chronicle of the history of the Near and Middle East during the Crusades*, written from the Arab/Muslim point of view, the reader will be struck by the parallel it offers to contemporary events in the same region. The Western observer is disturbed by them, watching the ever-changing alliances and hostilities among the peoples of the area, who call themselves brethren by ethnic and/or religious bonds and yet constantly shift their allegiance, according to their separate interests, while still paying lip service to their kinship. Thus it was in the Ayyūbid era, when they were engaged in the common struggle against the "Franks"; thus it is in the twentieth century, when the unifying factors—even the fight against Israel or the struggle for an "Arab Nation"—do not suffice to overcome the divisive aspirations of the individual Arab groups. Another weighty similarity between these two eras, separated though they are by many centuries, is the threat from powers not indigenous to the region (apart from the Crusaders, then, and "the West," now), that was and is aggravating the situation and thereby influencing decisions as well as their outcome.

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Introduction

Before the advent of Islam, the literature of the Arabs was confined mainly to poetry. The poet, seen as the oracle, seer, and guide of his tribe, told of its battles and pasture land and other disputes, preserved its genealogy, described its folklore and spiritual life, and extolled the courage, generosity, loves, and deeds of its heroes. Thus he was the historian of his tribe. The poems were passed on by man's lips until they began to be recorded in writing in the early seventh century.

The first Muslim historical works were the records of the actions and sayings (*ḥadīth*) of the Prophet Muḥammad. These necessarily included a good deal of incidental historical matter, especially Muḥammad's military campaigns. The first historical work to show some independence of theology was a biography of the Prophet composed by Ibn-Ishāq in the eighth century. Biographies and monographs followed, and in the ninth century the Arabic-speaking Persian al-Balādhuri integrated them into two comprehensive works, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, or "The History of the Conquests," and *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, or "The Lineage of the Nobles."

As Muslim scholars commenced to study and absorb the various fields of Greek knowledge, they took over the Greek systematic classification of the various branches of science and learning, which gave to history no special place. The early Muslims continued to see history as a secondary discipline, albeit an important one, since it was classed as a supplementary discipline in the field of Muslim religious law. In the eleventh century it was placed by one scholar, Ibn-Abī al-Rabī', intermediate between theology and religious law at the top and medicine and the natural sciences at the bottom. It was absent from the course of studies in the *madrasāt* or "colleges" of higher learning.

While Muslim theologians did provide the scholarly techniques which gradually promoted historiography into a science, the fact that they viewed historiography as a mere auxiliary of

theology had an inhibiting effect. The early medieval Muslim historian saw his function as mainly one of collecting facts. Philosophic consideration of causes and effects, and speculation upon contingent probabilities, did not come within his consideration.

Ibn-Khaldūn (A.D. 1332–1406) brought a new approach to the writing of history, introducing a philosophic concept to it and applying principles of moral, political, and social science. To an awareness of the physical phenomena of the world he joined a perception of the ways, beliefs, and activities of men. The development and decay of nations, as of individuals, he believed to be the result of universal laws. Certain results inevitably flow from certain causes. The acid test of the truth or falseness of evidence is its innate possibility or impossibility. Evidence must be assessed against the prevailing conditions of the times.

The principles and forces influencing history Ibn-Khaldūn displayed in his famed *Muqaddimah*, or "Introduction" to his universal history. He believed that "nations go through natural periods of life like individuals." Certain ideas, tendencies, and desires are met with in men's minds in every clime and age, just as are the laws of matter. Ambition, love, vanity, and greed inhere alike in nations as in individuals and impel them to similar patterns of development. Youth everywhere consists in enthusiasm and great actions, good or bad. Middle age declines to material, often base, objectives. So it is with nations. The early Arabs performed high deeds when they burst from their austere desert confines, where hazards and hardship had induced in them fortitude and a sense of devotion to the common interest of the community, and then, with the prosperity, selfishness, and luxury of empire and city life, sank into degeneracy and decay, to fall before a simpler people.

The study of European history leaves the Western reader unaware of this crucial lesson of the East, since the existence of the nations of the North is yet incomplete. In the towns and regions of the Middle East, to the contrary, where the periods of life are shorter and faster, dynasties of Babylonians, Hittites, Persians, Parthians, Arabs, Mongols, and Turks rose and fell upon the ruins of each other in rapid succession. Only a study of their histories and their connection will enable the Western

reader to form a picture of the laws that govern the succession of nations.

The fact that Muslim historians were rarely able to make a living from writing history meant that they were necessarily men of wide culture and knowledge. The work of al-Ṭabari (A.D. 838–932), for example, is replete with all the theological, historical, and philosophical learning of his age, and was a huge store of information for succeeding historians. The vast erudition of al-Mas'ūdi (A.D. 895?–956), dubbed “the Herodotus of the Arabs,” was enriched by his extensive travels extending to China and Ceylon. Besides history, his interest and imagination were excited by the geography, natural history, religion, and ethnology not only of Muslim nations but of others as well. His enlarged mind could penetrate the ideas of other peoples, and his narrative is enlivened by many charming anecdotes and vignettes. He set a pattern for Arab historiographers in searching for information without prejudice against what is foreign, in relating a fact without changing it although it may conflict with his own view, and in seeking truth without preconceived viewpoints.

Although historiography occupied but a modest place in the Muslim academic world, nonetheless it held respect in society at large. For young princes, as future rulers, the study of history was deemed a proper subject. Anyone aspiring to a senior government post had to have some knowledge of the histories of other lands, such as Persia and Byzantium. Parents encouraged their children to study noble actions of the past that they might emulate them and learn that virtue is rewarded and evildoing punished. Thus the Muslim historian, if not in the front rank of scholars, yet enjoyed the prestige of influencing the powerful and the young.

Muslim history can be divided into several classes:

1. General histories of which Ibn-al-Athīr's was the great classic, and including such works as those of Sibṭ ibn-al-Jawzi and Ibn-al-Furāt.
2. Chronicles of regions and cities, like those of Ibn-al-Qalānisi on Damascus, and Kamāl-al-Dīn on Aleppo.
3. Histories of regions and their dynasties, such as those of Ibn-Wāsil and al-Maqrīzi.

4. Histories of dynasties, like that of Abū-Shāmah.
5. Biographies, like those of Saladin by Ibn-Shaddād and by 'Imād-al-Dīn.
6. Autobiographies, like the invaluable and delightful memoirs of Usāmah ibn-Munqidh.

The racial and religious emotions evoked by the Crusades produced important historical works. Of these the most important is that of Ibn-al-Athīr (A.D. 1160–1234). His *Kāmil fī'l-Ta'rikh*, or "Complete Book of Chronicles," is a universal history of the Muslim world up to A.D. 1231. It reproduces much of al-Ṭabari together with abridgments of other writers, some of whose work would otherwise have been lost, but his contribution on the Crusades, of which he was an eyewitness, is original. He set a standard in Muslim historiography for critical handling of his material and breadth of perception, and his work is distinguished for his lucidity and for his observance of cause and result. Unfortunately, like some other Muslim historians in the service of rulers, he displays antipathy toward Saladin because of his attachment to the Zangid dynasty, which Saladin supplanted.

The name and fame of Saladin encouraged a number of writers. Bahā'al-Dīn ibn-Shaddād (A.D. 1145–1234) and 'Imād-al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (A.D. 1125–1201), as members of Saladin's staff, bring personal testimony to their biographies of the Sultan, and their admiration for their master is not greatly biased in his favor. Their works are essentially dependable and very informative of the times. They pay little attention, however, to the social and economic life and military and political aims of the Franks, their adversaries in the Crusades. Moreover, they reveal a grievous ignorance, even indifference, to the other's faith. Indeed, writers of both sides give the grossest caricatures of the other's beliefs. Either complete misconception or thoroughgoing prejudice prevented any possibility of seeing the other side's point of view. Its whole culture and style of life, its most cherished ideals, were objects of derision and scorn. To the Christians the Muslims were "Saracen dogs" and "followers of wicked error," while reverse epithets made the Christians "Christian pigs" and "Polytheists" (worshiping many gods, i.e., the Trinity). The Western historian William, Bishop of

Tyre, who knew Arabic, and the Arab memoir writer Usāmah ibn-Munqidh, were notable exceptions on either side in their understanding of the other side.

The restriction of the attention of Muslim historians to their own side, although indeed a serious defect, nonetheless leaves the Western reader a large field of information and interest. But such was the continuing indifference of Western scholars to Muslim historiography that even the celebrated Ibn-al-Athīr was inaccessible to Edward Gibbon, who had to be content with abridgments of his work by later Muslim historians. This inattention of Western scholars has accordingly vitiated all Western histories of the Middle East, and that part of Europe touched by Muslim thought and deeds.

The German E. Wilken's *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Leipzig, 1817–1832) and J. F. Michaud's *Histoire des Croisades* (Paris, 1841) could find few translations of Muslim sources at their disposal, but the use they made of them brought about an awareness of the importance of Muslim historians. Access to the other side's point of view must have encouraged the sympathetic understanding these writers brought to their work on the crusades, in contrast to earlier writers.

Serious work on the editing of Arabic original sources from previously unpublished manuscripts began in the early seventeenth century. But it was not until over a century later that the Benedictines of Saint-Maur, having collected many Western chronicles, essayed the formidable task of editing Oriental texts. Their work was taken up by the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres, which produced the massive *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, with its four tomes of translations from the Arabic into French.

These translations, however, fall beneath the level of modern scientific research. They are largely a free, not a literal, translation, giving the general meaning of the original rather than a correct translation. Moreover, they are but extracts and are not referred to their place in the original text.

Regrettably, a century later, the position had but little improved. The manuscripts of Ibn-Wāṣil, Ibn-Taghri Birdi, Ibn-al-Athīr, al-Furāt, and al-Maqrīzi and many others have been edited and printed in the Middle East, and await translation.

Thus it is that even the latest of Western Crusades historians, such as Runciman and Smail, have been afforded only limited access to Muslim sources. For the later Crusades only the smallest fraction of the Arabic sources have been translated.

So it was that Muslim historical writing, for centuries far more copious than and unquestionably superior to contemporary Western historiography, yet had no influence upon it. As modern times approached, the picture changed, and Western historiography rapidly took the lead. It fell to modern European and American scholarship to come to a complete understanding of the idea of history.

Nevertheless modern Egyptian and Lebanese scholars have united Western methodology to their own traditional techniques to produce histories of the highest order. Their skillful editings of hitherto unpublished but valuable texts have left the Western translator with many outstanding tasks. These modern Arab scholars repine that the restriction of access to Arabic sources has resulted in an equal restriction in appreciation of the Arab point of view and of Arab culture and achievement.

A period when the standard of Muslim historians was very high, was that of the Mameluke dynasty of Egypt. In the relatively stable regime of these slave-sultans, whose martial energy had cleared Syria of the crusaders and repelled the innumerable hordes of the Mongol Hulagu, there emerged historians of the highest class. Among these were Ibn-Khaldūn, Abū'l-Fidā', al-Suyūṭi, Ibn-Taghri Birdi, al-Sakhāwi, and al-Maqrīzi. Such scholars pondered the definitions and objects of history, the methods and techniques to be followed, the manner in which the validity of evidence can be tested, and the general utility of history.

Among these Mameluke historians Taqī-al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzi is outstanding. Professor P. K. Hitti, Professor of Semitic Literature at Princeton University, has declared that Maqrīzi was "beyond doubt the most eminent of the Mamluk historians."¹ Professor R. A. Nicholson, onetime Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University, descanting upon the number and talent of the historians of the Mameluke period, says: "Perhaps the most famous of them is Taqī'l-Dīn al-Maqrīzi."² Professor H. A. R. Gibb, onetime Professor of Ara-

bic at Oxford University, and Jewett Professor of Arabic at Harvard, considers that "as a compiler of historical works al-Maqrīzi holds a very high place."³ Professor Mustapha Ziyadah, onetime Professor of Medieval History at Fuad al-Awwal University, Cairo, believes Maqrīzi to be the best of the Muslim historians of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, and the *Sulūk* to be the leading production of the period.⁴ Professor Francesco Gabrieli, Professor of Arabic Language and Literature at Rome University, deems the *Sulūk* to be "indispensable in our present state of knowledge."⁵

Describing Maqrīzi's *Khīṭaṭ*,⁶ A. R. Guest records that Maqrīzi "has accumulated and reduced to a certain amount of order a large quantity of information that would, but for him, have passed into oblivion. He is generally painstaking and accurate, and always resorts to contemporary evidence if it is available. Also he has a pleasant and lucid style, and writes without bias and apparently with distinguished impartiality."⁷ The words can equally be applied to the *Sulūk*.

In his *Khīṭaṭ*⁸ Maqrīzi indicates that he draws on three kinds of sources, namely written works, teachers and contemporaries, and observations and experience. For the *Sulūk* Maqrīzi drew greatly on Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Wāṣil's *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Bani-Ayyūb*, or "The Dissipator of Anxieties Concerning the History of the Ayyūbids"; on Ibn-al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī'l Ta'rikh*, or "The Complete Book of Chronicles"; on Ibn-Abī-Ṭayyī's *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, or "History of Egypt"; on Abū-Shāmah's *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, or "The Book of the Two Gardens"; on Sibṭ ibn-al-Jawzi's *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, or "Mirror of Time"; as well as others like Ibn-'Abd-al-Zāhir and the Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Mundhirī. Unfortunately, he all too rarely indicated his sources or his debt to earlier writers. Indeed, his contemporary al-Sakhāwī accused him of wholesale plagiarism.⁹ Some mitigation may be allowed by reason of the practice of the day of assuming that, once a source had been given, no acknowledgment had to be given of further quotations, the style of the earlier passage being recognizable. It must be understood, too, that since original documents, such as government papers, family records, legal documents, ambassadors' reports, treaties, official letters and speeches, administrative reports, and the like were

rarely filed for archive purposes, historians like Maqrīzi, writing of events before their time, were fain to draw wholesale on chroniclers contemporary to the events described, to whom alone these original sources were available and who, indeed, made wide use of them.

Maqrīzi is a generally impartial historian. Allowing for the formal strictures which, by the convention of his time, he leveled against the Christian enemy, he is free from religious bias and pietism. He does, though, habitually overestimate the strength of the Christian forces.

Whatever his defects, Maqrīzi remains preeminent for the industry and judgment with which he collected, selected, and arranged the immense and varied mass of material that he reviewed. In truth, Maqrīzi's literary output was very considerable, although not the greater part remains to us. Apart from his *Khīṭaṭ* and his *Sulūk*, there exist only a few volumes of his biographical dictionary of Egypt,¹⁰ an unfinished work that projected eighty-four volumes, together with some historical and other monographs. His other compositions included a history of the prophet Muḥammad and his family in six volumes, a description of the Arab tribes in four volumes, a biographical history in three volumes of distinguished men who had died since Maqrīzi's birth, a collection in nearly sixty volumes of assorted histories, a history of the city of Fuṣṭaṭ (old Cairo), and a history of the Fāṭimid Caliphs of Egypt.

Maqrīzi followed the annalistic system whereby events are described chronologically as they occurred in successive yearly compartments. Each year begins: "In this year . . .," and the events thereafter chronicled in that particular year are connected by the words: "And in it [i.e., in the same year]." This specialized form of chronological historiography was developed by al-Ṭabari (d. A.D. 923), whose monumental history begins with the creation of the world and continues to A.D. 915. Succeeding historians like Ibn-al-Athīr (d. 1234) and Abū-'l-Fidā' (d. 1231) continued the successive years by describing the events occurring in their own time. The great drawback of this time system is its inhibition of the development and critical analysis of selected episodes and themes.

Moreover, the annalistic, more or less simple quotation sys-

tem was not adequate to correct the bias and flattery of contemporary biographies, often written by courtiers on the demand of their ruler for his own glorification. Muslim biography nonetheless contains invaluable material and was much esteemed by Muslim historians. Believing in the beneficial effect of studying the lives of famous men of the past, Maqrīzi would perhaps have agreed with H. St. John Bolingbroke's famous line: "I think that history is philosophy teaching by examples" (*Letters in the Study and Use of History*).

Maqrīzi himself defined the object of history as being "rendering information about what once took place in the world," *al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar*. Although this does not strive, as Emerson exhorted, "to attain that lofty sight where facts yield their secret sense and poetry and annals are alike," an ideal perhaps beyond attainment, it nevertheless represents a worthy concept that has presented us with a wealth of facts and information that otherwise would have been irretrievably lost.

The author was born in Cairo in A.D. 1364 of Baalbekan ancestry, his surname owing its origin to Makrīz, a suburb of Baalbek. His grandfather, Muḥyi-al-Dīn Abū-Muḥammad 'Abd-al-Qādir ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Maqrīzi, was a celebrated jurisconsult of the Ḥanbalite rite. His father, 'Alā'-al-Dīn 'Ali, married a woman of parts and sensibility, Azmā, a daughter of the Shaykh Shams-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Raḥmān, for whom he wrote a biographical piece. He revealed precocious talent and received early employment in the Sultan's diplomatic chancellery. He performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1385 and again in 1430 and 1435. In 1398 he was appointed *Muḥtasib* (see n. 8, Chapter 2) of Cairo and of the northern part of Egypt. He was made inspector of the al-Qalānisi *Waqf*, or pious foundation, in Damascus in 1408, and later was offered but declined the qādiship of that city. His contemporary standing is marked by the fact that among his pupils were Ibn-Taghri Birdi, al-Sakhāwi, Ibn-Ḥajar al-'Asqalāni, and al-'Ayni.

Maqrīzi was a man of piety, of agreeable address, and a zealous student of Muslim traditions. Brought up in the strict Ḥanafite rite, he changed to the Shāfi'ite on the death of his father, he being then twenty years of age. He died in the year 1442 at the ripe age of seventy-eight.

An understanding of the events that occurred in the Middle East, in times ancient and medieval, is a *sine qua non* for an appreciation of the problems—political, social, and economic—that beset it and affect Europe today. The relationship between the Middle East and Europe, although reaching back to ancient times, began seriously to develop with the Crusades, and continues to this day. The ever-moving frontiers between Europe and Asia, often described as the Eastern Question, were first contended between the realms of Greece and Persia. The Crusades and the Muslim Counter-Crusades were medieval manifestations of the problem.

When Pope Urban II preached the First Crusade in 1095, he called on Western Christendom to deliver Eastern Christendom and the Holy Places from the yoke of the infidel Muslims. The reverse was the result. When the last Crusade was over, the Eastern Christians, who hitherto had dwelt under the liberal dispensation of their tolerant Muslim rulers, now found themselves exposed to the indignant wrath of those finally triumphant masters. The ferocious fanaticism of the Crusaders had been matched by an increasing intolerance on the part of the Muslims—although indeed their warrings were not so cruel as those between the Christians themselves in Europe, as, for example, in the Thirty Years War. The relationship between the Byzantine and Arab empires, previously reasonably stable, had now become rancid. Weakened by the malicious diversion of the Fourth Crusade against Constantinople, that capital of Byzantium fell to the advancing Turks, who then moved deeply into Europe and crossed the Danube.

Although in the Crusades the ideological motive, in this case religion, was advanced by its promoters in order to gain popular support, in reality economic and secular factors comprised, as in most wars, the most important war aims.

A population explosion and pestilence and famine in Europe drove men of meager resources to seek new opportunities in fresh regions. Pope Urban II, in his call, titillated their appetites by describing Palestine as a land where rivers of milk and honey flowed freely. The Italian city states early set up emporia in the East, whither came porcelain and silk from China, carpets and tapestries from Persia and Samarqand, jewels and spices

from India, and ivory and ebony from Africa. To this were added the enormous products of local factories. Sidon and Tyre produced glass of unthought-of clearness and fineness, the foundation of the stained glass of Europe's cathedrals and abbeys. Egypt gave grain and textiles. Damascus contributed glass, steel, scent, and perfumes. From Arabia came incense and gums.

Brocades, embroideries, curtains, soap, copper and pewter ware, knives, needles, scissors, lamps, vases, chandeliers, bows and swords and much more were sold to these emporia, whose fleets brought them back to Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, whence they were carried over the Brenner and up the Rhine to Cologne, bifurcating there to Lübeck on the Baltic or Bruges on the North Sea. Along these routes famous cities of the Middle Ages came into being, with some, like Arras, with its tapestry and lace factories set up in imitation of those in the East.

Returning Crusaders, accustomed to the comforts and luxuries of the East, introduced their countrymen to the delightful taste of sugar, grown on the shores of Syria, and pepper, ginger, cloves, aloes, olives, lemons, melons, apricots, maize, sesame, carob, and rice. They embellished themselves and their ladies with fine new fabrics of fur, velvet, satin, silk, muslin from Mosul, baldachins from Baghdad, and damask from Damascus. Into their bare castles they brought curtains, rugs, hangings, and sofas. Their fine clothes and furniture were colored by brilliant new dyes like crimson, lilac, and purple.

In painting, book-illustration, church architecture and decoration, and other artistic fields the Crusaders learned more from Byzantium than from Islam.

In the early twelfth century, the Arabs introduced paper, first made in China, into Sicily, and there, too, at Palermo, was set up a factory to copy the Eastern *ṭirāz* workshops for making embroideries, brocades, and robes of honor. These latter, encrusted with gems and precious stones, were marvels of workmanship. The use of the compass, also invented in China, was learned by Italian sailors from Arab sailors, the first to use the instrument for navigation. The secrets and techniques for the production of glass in Syria were sold by the Crusader Prince Bohemund IV of Antioch to Venice in 1277, and the early production was under the supervision of Muslim artisans. Rock

crystal, like the beautiful ewer in the treasury of St. Mark's in Venice, was also brought to Europe by Crusaders, and Muslim potters introduced the ceramic industry to France and Italy.

Although all these fine products of the East attested the skill and flair of its artists and technicians, and the general opulence that supported it, on the intellectual and scientific side the Muslim Orient was in decline at the time of the Crusades. Moreover, the Crusaders themselves, as soldiers and colonists, had their main contacts with peasants and artisans rather than with intellectuals. Nonetheless, there were some instances of scientific transmission, as for example the treatise written in the twelfth century by Leonardo Fibonacci of Pisa in which, after a visit to Syria and Egypt, he introduced Arabic numerals to the West, which hitherto had used the old cumbersome Roman numerals, so revolutionizing its mathematics. The building of hospitals and public baths in Europe was greatly stimulated by Crusader contacts.

In the field of literature at this time the stimulus was not inconsiderable. The great events of the time inspired the writing of history, including the greatest piece of medieval historiography, the *Historia Transmarina* of William of Tyre. The stirring deeds excited poetic imagination and provided heroic themes. Duke Godfrey of Bouillon, a leader of the First Crusade and first ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, was the hero of two French *chansons de geste*, the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, and his deeds were further enshrined in the cycle of the Chevalier au Cygne, a tale almost identical with the legend of Lohengrin. Chaucer's *Tales*, the *Decameron*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Gulliver's Travels*, and the works of Milton and Sir Walter Scott all received impetus from the *Arabian Nights*, although what proportion was transmitted in the times of the Crusades and how much through Spain is still uncertain. The legends of the Holy Grail have unmistakable Syrian elements.

The failure of the military enterprise against the "unbelievers" induced in Europe an interest in Arabic and Oriental studies generally as a means of substituting persuasion instead of violence. In 1311 the Council of Vienne resolved upon the

creation of chairs of Arabic at the Universities of Paris, Louvain, and Salamanca.

The knights learned much in the art of war. Sapping and mining, the uses of the crossbow, mangonels, and battering rams, of quilt coats under armor, and of combustibles used as missiles were learned from the Muslims. Although already possessed of sound techniques in military architecture, the Crusaders learned to replace their old keep and bailey castle, with its single wall, by the concentric castle, with its successive rings of walls. They added the lute and the kettledrum to their military bands, hitherto composed of horns and trumpets only. They discovered the practice of the tournament. They adopted, too, from the Muslims the science of heraldry. Azure derives from Arabic. The two-headed eagle and the *fleur de lys* were charges in Muslim heraldry, and lions, leopards, eagles, and other creatures were emblazoned on the shields and banners of Muslim warriors. The use of carrier pigeons to convey military information was also learned from the Arabs.

Windmills were introduced into Normandy by returning Crusaders in the late twelfth century. Waterwheels had existed in Europe before the Crusades, but an improved model was brought back from Ḥamāh during the Crusades.

All this commercial activity demanded new financial arrangements and a system of credit notes, and banking firms started in Genoa and Pisa with offices in Syria. Consular offices were opened, the first ever appointed being that of Genoa to Acre in 1180. Fleets of mercantile shipping came into being in the Mediterranean.

A very important result of the Crusades was that the preoccupation of the turbulent Western lords and knights in the conquest of Outremer allowed the monarchs of Europe to assert their central authority and promote order in their realms.

Not least of the contributions of the Crusades was the shaking of the Western colonists from their ancient roots and their being confronted with new ideas and ways. Contact with an entirely different race and religion necessarily provoked comparisons, sometimes favorable and sometimes not, and engendered an inevitable spirit of understanding and a quickening of the imagination that must have been a steppingstone toward the

Renaissance. Intermarriage, social intercourse, commerce, and the daily routine of life tended to blur the distinctions of East and West. The Franks insensibly adopted much of the clothing and customs of the Orient, and the Muslims perforce admired the valor and discipline of the Franks. Although Crusaders newly arrived from Europe were filled with religious ferocity, the native-born Franks learned to respect and get along with their outnumbering Muslim neighbors, as was the case in reverse. The leaders of both sides often put aside religious motives and approached their problems in a wholly secular and pragmatic manner. With impartial vigor the Eastern kings and sultans turned their arms against whichever adjacent state, be it Muslim Arab, Turk, Egyptian, or Christian Frank, seemed ripe for the picking. The Frankish princes were equally opportunistic, and entered with indiscriminate expediency into treaties and martial alliances with Muslim rulers. In the opening pages of Maqrīzi we see how the Franks under King Amalric I besieged Saladin in Damietta in tacit alliance with the Fāṭimid Caliph of Egypt. Many similar examples of Frankish-Muslim alliances follow.

We observe similar tendencies in the Middle East today, as in the case of Israel and the Lebanese Christians, where the practicalities of the situation outweigh ideologies. Familiarity and common interests overcome religious and political animosities, and a man like the native-born, Arabic-speaking Count Raymond III of Tripoli has his counterpart today in General Moshe Dayan of Israel.

Maqrīzi's *Sulūk* is replete with details concerning conditions, administrative, military, and social, at the time of the Crusades. There is much information regarding the government and administrative system in Egypt, including the revenues accruing from the taxable sources such as date palms and acacia bark. The Egyptian navy and the revenues allotted to it are discussed, as is the military system, with the ranks, pay, privileges, and appanages of the emirs and the lower officers and the revenues deriving from their fiefs, the strengths of the various types of troops, and their annual budgets.

Many interesting *aperçus* of historical personalities and comments on singular circumstances are given. Wine, for example,

we notice, was prohibited only in the fasting months of Ramaḍān, and the tax on it accrued to the Sultan and his officers. At one time all provisions for the Sultan's household were defrayed from the farmed tax on wine and beer, a monopoly bringing an annual receipt of 7,000 *dīnārs*. Many murders were committed in Cairo by men in drink.

As was and is often the case in the East, there were great extremes of poverty and wealth, the former mitigated somewhat by the giving of *zakāh*, or alms, a duty incumbent on all Muslims possessing property, including money, merchandise, and produce. When the inundation of the Nile, an annual event, was very low or totally absent, with a consequent poor irrigation and fertilization of the surrounding countryside, a great scarcity of food would result. A plague of locusts would exacerbate the crisis, and Maqrīzi described a fearful famine in Egypt when a quarter of a million died in a short time. Men ate earth and manure and devoured corpses, and fathers even roasted and ate their dead children, this being most prevalent in the better houses. Many slaughtered others for food, and a number of physicians were lost, since they were often called to a house only to be killed and eaten. Commodities became so rare that even the rich could not buy them. There were not enough grave-diggers to bury the piles of corpses, and in the stress of work they did not dig deep enough, so that soon the cemeteries could not be approached because of the stench of the corpses. From villages of five hundred souls only two or three remained. There was a general evacuation of Egypt for Syria, but many died on the way.

We read how in times of siege vast numbers perished of hunger, as when the Khwarizmians besieged Damascus in 1245 and cut off supplies, so that one man sold his house for a sack of wheat.

With all this went great opulence, the Middle East being, as already mentioned, the emporium of the known world. Maqrīzi relates that when the Sultan al-ʿĀdil's daughter, Ḍayfah, married the Prince of Aleppo, fifty mules and five hundred camels were required to carry her trousseau to her new home, together with a dowry of 50,000 *dīnārs* and attendant maidens on a hundred camel litters. Her groom gave her five costly strings

of pearls, a diadem of precious gems, five amber necklaces ornamented with gold, 150 gold and silver objects, many vestments, and numerous handmaidens and slaves. For her first-born ten cradles of gold and silver were made, and others of ebony and sandalwood, and dresses interwoven with pearls, rubies, and sapphires, as well as other rich articles of dress.

The salient theme of Maqrīzi in these pages is the course of the Ayyūbid dynasty of Egyptian sultans which, rising with the refulgent glory of Saladin (*Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn*), declined and sank with his successors in a welter of internecine intrigue and war. It relates how the genius of one man united the turbulent Muslim world to turn the tide of Crusader conquest, and recounts the quarrels, jealousies, and treacheries which not only rendered the later Ayyūbids unequal to the task of finally destroying the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem but encompassed their own destruction at the hands of their guards and slaves, the Mamelukes.

The eponym of this cultivated house, Ayyūb, was a Kurd, a member of the hardy Indo-European race, proud and independent, who dwell in the mountains of Asia Minor and who are famed equally as brigands and as men of piety. His father had migrated to Baghdad, and in time Ayyūb had come to receive the appointment of governor of Takrīt, a citadel on the left bank of the Tigris. But a deed of blood by his brother Shirkūh exacerbated, in the eyes of the Caliph of Baghdad and the Saljūq Sultan who directed temporal affairs, the earlier offense of Ayyūb in promoting the escape across the river of their retreating enemy 'Imād-al-Dīn (Pillar of Faith) Zangi. To this rising potentate the brothers fled in the night with Ayyūb's new-born son, Saladin, and became his supporters in his founding of the Atabeg dynasty of Mosul and Aleppo. Formally entitled Atabeg (Turkish *ata*, "father," and *beg*, "prince") or guardian to young Saljūq princes, Zangi, like other atabegs, soon substituted his own rule for those of his protégés. Zangi was the first of the great Counter-Crusade warriors.

The two brothers assisted Zangi's still greater son Nūr-al-Dīn ("Light of the Faith") Maḥmūd, who succeeded to Zangi's Syrian possessions, with Aleppo as his capital. In 1154 he seized Damascus and thus made his territories contiguous with the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. When Nūr-al-Dīn, as an ortho-

dox Sunnite and upholder of the Caliph of Baghdad, sent an army to Egypt to deracinate the Shī'ite heresy and caliphate of Cairo, as well as to deny that land to the Latin King Almaric I of Jerusalem, Shīrkūh was its commander, and with him went his nephew Saladin.

In 1169 Shīrkūh became governor of Egypt in the name of Nūr-al-Dīn, and vizier to the effete caliph, the Fāṭimid al-'Āḍid; but on the death of Shīrkūh two months later he was succeeded by Saladin. On the death of al-'Āḍid himself in 1171, Saladin became sole ruler of Egypt, although Nūr-al-Dīn remained a watchful and suspicious suzerain until his death in 1174, leaving a minor in his place. Saladin was now ready to address himself to the two burning ambitions of his life: the establishment of the supremacy of the orthodox Sunnite faith and the destruction of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The first object was obtained when, on the death of the Shī'ite al-'Āḍid, Saladin could ordain that in the prayers at the Mosque in Cairo the name of the Sunnite Caliph of Baghdad should be substituted for that of the heretic caliph. The extinction of the Shī'ite caliphate and following in Egypt produced an incalculable effect on the destiny of the Muslim world, for North Africa and the Sudan would otherwise assuredly have followed it; and indeed the whole Muslim world might today await the coming of the Mahdī, the Shī'ite Messiah.

The command of Egypt, with its strategic position and great resources, was also invaluable to the recovery of Palestine, the second objective of Saladin. For the nine years following the death of Nūr-al-Dīn, Saladin was engaged in gaining the Syrian possessions of his late suzerain, acquiring Damascus in 1174 and Aleppo in 1183. With Syria and Egypt joined, and with the true faith of the Sunnite supreme between the Tigris and the Nile, Saladin was ready for the Counter-Crusade, the *jihād*, or holy war.

In the opposing Christian camp all the portents were propitious to the new sultan's design. Much of the wonder and magic that had attended the creation of the Christian states under Syrian skies had departed. The king, Baldwin IV, was a dying leper. The ignominious failure of the second crusade (1147-48),

with its disgraceful discords and diversions, besides encouraging the Muslims, had brought, in Western eyes, discredit upon the whole endeavor. Many of the native Franks had been seduced, within a generation, by the insidious influences of the East and, taking to themselves Syrian women, clothes, food, and modes of life, had become reconciled to view the Muslims as joint occupants of Syria. Their cousins, the recruits from the West, lustful for gain and filled with ferocity toward the infidel foe, they resented and thwarted. The Italian city republics of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa, whose powerful navies had been largely responsible for the conquest of the Syrian coastal cities, were interested only in their trade with the East and were indifferent to the condition of the interior. There remained one grave flaw in the strategic design to prove the ruin of the Latin kingdom. It had been cardinal to its safety that its eastern frontier should be extended to its natural and defensible boundary of the Syrian desert. For the Muslim possession of the cities of Ḥamāh, Ḥims, Baalbek, and Damascus gave them the bases from which, reinforced from the east, they could mount and deliver swift and surprising attacks on the exposed Christians. It was the slender numbers of their fighting men which no doubt precluded this obvious consummation. The losses from battle, disease, and fatigue under an eastern sun, combined with a dire mortality among their children, could not be supplied from the sparing reinforcements from the west.

There remained the Greeks, strong in their navy, their improved army, and their gold, of whom aid might be sought. The inveterate hostility between the Latin and Byzantine worlds had been suspended by the mutual helps of the First Crusade. But the breaking of oaths and treaties, as when Bohemund seized Antioch for his own, and a pogrom against the French and Italian colonies in Constantinople, had vitiated the uneasy alliance. The Greek emperor, aware that the Normans were persuaded that only with the Latins in control of the coast could the Muslims be held, was not averse from the Muslims keeping them engaged. No Greeks, therefore, fought beneath the banner of the Cross against Saladin at the Battle of Ḥiṭṭīn (1187), which smashed the kingdom of Jerusalem and left to

the Latins only the city of Tyre and, to the north of the kingdom, the principalities of Antioch and Tripoli. Even the Holy Cross itself, which possessed a special power of regeneration to compensate for wear and tear, passed into hands all too ready to test its powers.

Against the grand and heroic Third Crusade which these disasters provoked Saladin still prevailed; and it may reasonably be supposed that the first of the Ayyūbids alone prevented a long, and perhaps perpetual, dominion over Egypt and Syria by the Christian West. For, during the three preceding centuries, under the Ṭūlūnid, Ikshīdite, and Fāṭimid dynasties, Egypt had fallen into increasing anarchy and impoverishment, and if the Franks had had to meet only the debauched and feeble Fāṭimid caliphs, in a land debilitated and depopulated by the economic crisis of 1062–73, torn by intrigue and dissension, tyrannized by rival Negro and Turkish viziers and military officers, and wracked by a futile administration, the golden oriflamme of St. Denis must surely have waved triumphant above the Cairene walls. The victories of Saladin were supported by the erection in Egypt of an order and cohesion long unknown; and the institution, with his successors, of the political organization and administrative machine that was continued and developed by the succeeding dynasty of the Mamelukes must be counted for achievement to the Ayyūbids.

Had the successor of Saladin been of his father's mettle, the Christian occupation of the Holy Land might have ended in his time. But even had he possessed the capacity, his opportunities, from the outset, were greatly constricted. For Saladin, who had seventeen sons and one daughter, divided his empire among the elders of them; and the story of their jealousies and quarrels—in which the command of Egypt was the main prize for contention—and those of their cousins, the sons of Saladin's brother al-ʿĀdil (Saphadin), who ousted them, largely compose the chronicle of the pages which follow. The dissolution of Saladin, it will be seen, ensured the dissolution of the hard-won unity of Islam.

During the fifty-seven years in which his successors reigned, their incessant quarrels prevented their combined attack upon their Christian foes. Indeed, at times they even sought them

as allies in their internecine feuds, and it was well for them that the Fourth Crusade was diverted against the Byzantine empire.

Yet they produced sultans of distinction and achievement, and have been described by Runciman as "the kindly and cultured Ayyubites."¹¹ Al-'Ādil effected, for a time, something of the unity of Saladin; and his son al-Kāmil, despite treachery, repulsed the Fifth Crusade and secured the evacuation of Damietta, for which the Crusaders were fain to accept, as consolation, the Holy Cross. Both these sultans displayed tolerance and honor in their dealings with the Crusaders. It was basic to al-'Ādil's policy to avoid the provoking of another crusade, and Maqrīzi reveals the active kindness of al-Kāmil toward his Christian subjects. It was al-Kāmil's religious tolerance, when in fear of his brother al-Mu'azzam, which allowed him to seek the aid of the Emperor Frederick, whose religious laxity matched al-Kāmil's. The Hohenstaufen, excommunicated by the Pope and frustrated by the Lombard League, was well disposed for a politic crusade, and we meet this dazzling and perfidious prince, at once attractive and repellent, the Wonder of the World, linguist, soldier, philosopher, statesman, and scientist, on his celebrated visit to Jerusalem in 1229. His treaty with al-Kāmil (1229), the result of skillful manipulation of Ayyūbid jealousy, gained Christendom its last fifteen years of possession of Jerusalem (1229-44), a *triomphe sans lendemain*.

Renewed dissension among the heirs of al-Kāmil encouraged the Franks to the act of fatal folly which forever ruined their field army, kept them defensive within their fortified cities, and lost them Jerusalem in finality. Allying themselves to the Ayyūbid rulers of Hims, Damascus, and Aleppo, they were deserted by those princes on the field of battle at Gaza in 1244 and overwhelmed by Baybars, the Mameluke general of the sultan of Egypt, al-Kāmil's son al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, and his allies the Khwārizmians.

Pressed by the Mongols behind them, these savage shepherds of the Caspian, who had won dominion between the Ganges and the Tigris, had swept like a fire through Mesopotamia and Syria, burning, pillaging, and slaying. In turn offering their flaying swords to the contending Ayyūbids, they were finally

annihilated by the confederate and disgusted princes at Hims in 1246.

But a still more ferocious scourge menaced Frank and Muslim alike. At the death of Jenghis Khan, his hosts of horsemen, bursting like a cyclone from their steppeland wastes, had carved an empire that stretched from the Pacific Ocean to the Dnieper. The successors of the Great Khan continued the expansion. Trampling on the necks of a crowd of kings and princes, they drove away the Khwārizmians to become the mercenaries of the rival Ayyūbids. At the gallop they ravaged Kiev and Poland, annihilated the Germans at Liegnitz in Lower Silesia, and destroyed the Saljūq power of Rūm. The Saljūq Turks of Ghuzz had emerged in the eleventh century from Transoxiana to become the protectors and tyrants of the puppet caliphs of Baghdad. Thence they had come to conquer Asia Minor and found the empire of Rūm. Their most illustrious prince, Kayqubād, won fame by his victory, with the Ayyūbid al-Ashraf, over the Khwārizmian Shāh, Jalāl-al-Dīn, in 1230. But by his destruction of the Khwārizmian empire he removed the only buffer between him and the impending Mongol. In 1231 an expedition against him by the Ayyūbid princes under al-Kāmil miscarried, again through their mistrust of each other. His son and successor Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Kaikhasraw II ensured the ruin of his dynasty by sustaining defeat at Kazadaq in 1243 beneath the swords of the conquering Mongols.

The warrings of these Scythian scourges against the Muslims, their religious curiosity, and the marriage of Christian princesses into the family of the Great Khan had disposed Pope Innocent IV to indulge the hope of their conversion to Christianity. Indeed many of them were nominal Christians, and Rome even regarded their eruption upon the Arabs as an intervention inspired by Providence. Further, they might be a mighty ally, the anvil against which the Muslims could be smitten and smashed. Jerusalem had recently been lost. A new crusade seemed necessary and propitious.

The objective, Egypt, was unexpected by the Muslims, but obvious to the attacker. The center of Muslim power had moved to Egypt. It was their richest territory, and controlling the commerce of the Indian Ocean therefore attracted the Italian sea-

states. Its denial to the Muslims would rob them of their Mediterranean fleet and expose them to envelopment from Acre and Suez. And St. Louis, King of France, had no doubt learned how deeply the Mamelukes had subverted the power of the dynasty they were so soon to replace. Damietta was the immediate objective, and Cairo was the next.

But the extraordinary and lengthy preparations of the French king failed to secure the success of the maritime enterprise. Maqrīzi portrays the energy and valor of the corps of Mamelukes—introduced to his court by the imprudence of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, the penultimate Ayyūbid—in routing the Christians, conspicuous among them Baybars the Arbalester, within months, as the final pages here recount, to cut down his sultan and with him the Ayyūbid house, and to become himself the greatest of the succeeding dynasty of Mamelukes.

The name and merit of Maqrīzi have so long been acknowledged that it is a matter of astonishment that there exists no English translation of his works. Of his two major extant productions, the *Khīṭaṭ* and the *Sulūk*, the latter only has been rendered into a European language. The earlier part, dealing with the Ayyūbid dynasties of Egypt and Syria, has been rendered into French by E. Blochet (Paris, 1908) under the title *Histoire d'Égypte de Maqrizi*, and the remaining portion of the *Sulūk*, relating to the subsequent Mameluke dynasties, has also been translated into French by M. Quatremère (Paris, 1837) and entitled *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*. Both these translations, in addition to their intrinsic excellence, are accompanied by full and copious notes invaluable to students of the period and drawn on by myself in this translation of the earlier Ayyūbid period.

It is fortunate that, since the translations of Quatremère and Blochet, the aforementioned Egyptian scholar, Dr. Mustapha Ziyadah, should have come upon a manuscript unknown to them, a manuscript of excelling value in that it was written in the author's own hand. This autograph manuscript lies in the Yāni Jama' Library in Constantinople and is numbered 887. It is the first volume of the original series of four, is written, according to Ziyadah, in a clear medium *naskh* hand, and ends at the year A.D. 1304. It therefore covers the period translated

by Quatremère and Blochet, save that the manuscripts used by them extend to 1309. These manuscripts Nos. 1726–28 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fonds Arabe, Ziyadah used for comparison with the Yani Jama' text to resolve obscurities and supply deficiencies caused by the ravages of time. These Paris manuscripts were copied, or at least completed, by the scribe in A.D. 1361, nearly two centuries after the death of Maqrīzi. In making their translations from them, neither Quatremère nor Blochet used any other text to check variants, to supply omissions caused by damp, adhesion of pages, and fading, and to correct the errors and slips of the coypist. Ziyadah had that advantage and, more important, could work from the original product of Maqrīzi's own hand, wherein is much that the copyist of the Paris manuscripts had missed. The editor found himself so well served by these resources that he felt he had no occasion to consult the other manuscripts which exist and which he enumerates and locates in his Introduction. It is this edition of the *Sulūk* by Dr. Ziyadah, published by the Egyptian Library Press (Cairo, 1934–36), which I have used to make my translation of that part of it which recounts the history of the Ayyūbids. I have not translated the opening pages of Maqrīzi, for they present but a brief and general review of the 'Abbāsid caliphate, the Buwayhid supremacy, and the Saljūqid sultanate, periods well anterior to the author and on which he throws little light.

I have striven to make my rendering as true to the original as grammar and syntax will allow and historians will require. Words and phrases added by myself, or adduced from others (with due reference) in order to complete the sense or balance of the passage I have placed within the body of the text between parentheses. Very short explanatory notes I have also placed, for speed of reading, within the text, in this case between brackets. Fuller notes to each chapter I have consigned to the end of the translation, and a bibliography gives the writers and works referred to in them. Here again I am particularly indebted to the recent scholarship in the medieval Egyptian field of Dr. Ziyadah. Italicized Arabic words and phrases are explained in a Glossary, and a row of asterisks indicates a lacuna in the original manuscripts. I have used the standard

method of transliterating Arabic words and names into English, save in the case of familiar anglicized forms, e.g., emir, Jerusalem.

Withal, I am conscious of many imperfections and inadequacies and can well understand why Cicero and Quintillian recommended the practice of translation as essential to the forming of an accomplished writer and orator.

The work has received the inestimable advantage of a thorough check by the late Professor Nabih Amin Faris of the Department of History in the American University of Beirut. He consumed two years in comparing my work with the Arabic text, going through it, as he wrote to me, "with a fine comb."

It is impossible to overestimate the value of the immense scholarship and meticulous diligence which Professor Faris brought to his task. That he did so in the midst of his labors on al-Ghazzālī, on scholarly articles, and on multifarious administrative duties, as well as in supervising all Y.M.C.A. work in Lebanon, is testimony at once to his industry and to his goodness of heart. From the deep debt of gratitude I came to feel toward him I can well understand the universal dismay, in the world of scholarship and far beyond, at his untimely death. Any thanks that I can give him must be too small.

CHAPTER 1

The Reign of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn (Saladin) [1174–93]

The Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-Ayyūb ibn-Shādi ibn-Marwān ibn-Abī-‘Ali (ibn-‘Antarah) al-Ḥasan ibn-‘Ali ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Abī-‘Ali ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azīz ibn-Hudbah ibn-al-Ḥaṣīn ibn-al-Ḥārith ibn-Sinān ibn-‘Amr ibn-Murrah ibn-‘Awf. At this point genealogists differ. Some say ‘Awf ibn-Usāmah ibn-Nabhash ibn-al-Ḥārithah (Ṣāḥib al-Ḥamālah) ibn-‘Awf ibn-Abī-Ḥāritha ibn-Murrah ibn-Nushbah ibn-Ghayṣ ibn-Murrah ibn-‘Awf ibn-Sa’d ibn-Dhubyān ibn-Baghīd ibn-Rayth ibn-Ghatafān ibn-Sa’d ibn-Qays (ibn)-‘Aylān ibn-Ilyās ibn-Muḍar ibn-Nizār ibn-Ma’add ibn-‘Adnān. Some declare that ‘Ali ibn-Aḥmad is known as al-Khurāsānī. Al-Mutanabbi praised him in his poem thus:

The air is choked with dust when ‘Ali ibn
Aḥmad in all his circumstances goes by.

Others say that Marwān was descended from the Umayyads. So thought Ismā‘il ibn-Ṭughtikīn ibn-Ayyūb, but his uncle al-‘Ādil Abū-Bakr denied this. Ibn al-Qādisī has it that Shādi was a slave [*mamlūk*] of the eunuch [*Khādim*] Bihruz. The truth is that he was a Kurd of the tribe of Rawādīyyah, a subtribe of the Hadhbānīyyah, and came from the town of Duwīn on the frontier of Azerbaijān beside Arran and the country of the Georgians. He had two sons: the elder was called Ayyūb, and the other Shīrkūh. He brought them to Iraq and they entered the service of Bihruz, who made Ayyūb governor of the Citadel of Takrīt [on the Tigris, near Baghdad], which was part of his fief. It is said that he appointed Ayyūb to this post in succession to his father Shādi. Ayyūb and Shīrkūh rendered service to ‘Imād-al-Dīn Zangī when he retreated to that town. But Shīrkūh killed a man, and Bihruz drove him and his brother Ayyūb from Takrīt. That very night

Yūsuf ibn-Ayyūb [Saladin] was born. The two brothers repaired to Zangi, Ayyūb attaching himself to Zangi's son Ghāzi, and Shīrkūh serving Maḥmūd ibn-Zangi. 'Imād-al-Dīn Ghāzi set Ayyūb ibn-Shādi over the Citadel of Baalbek, from which post he advanced until he became governor of Damascus.

Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn was born in the Citadel of Takrīt in the year 532 [A.D. 1138], his father Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb being governor of the place. Thence he moved with his son Yūsuf [Saladin] to Mosul; from there he went to Syria and was given Baalbek, where he remained for a time. Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn grew up, bearing about him all the signs of good omen, and sat at the feet of men of learning. (The shaykh and imām)¹ Quṭb-al-Dīn Abū'l-ma'ālī Mas'ūd ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Mas'ūd² al-Naysābūri composed for him a manual of religion containing all the knowledge that he would require. So great indeed was his enthusiasm for it, that he taught it to his young children and himself made them recite it back to him. He was conscientious in attending the communal prayers; indeed he one day declared: "For years I have not said my prayers save in company." But if he fell sick, he would call the imām and pray behind him.

He entered the service of Nūr-al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn-Zangi,³ and in the year 558 [1163] went with his uncle Asad-al-Dīn Shīrkūh to Egypt. He returned to Syria, but went back again with his uncle and was present at the battle of al-Bābayn.⁴ He was besieged by the Franks in Alexandria, and again returned with his uncle to Syria. They made a third invasion, although he did not wish to go to Egypt, where they arrived in 564 [1168]. When Shāwar [vizir of Egypt] put off replying to the terms of Shīrkūh and held up the gifts promised to Nūr-al-Dīn and the soldiers, the emirs consulted about encompassing and arresting him. But only Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn dared undertake this.

Therefore when Shāwar came to them, as was his daily custom, they went with him to Asad-al-Dīn. Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn walked at his side, and then, grasping him by the collar, ordered his soldiers to seize his companions. But they fled from Shāwar's side, and the Ghuzz [Saljūq Turks] pillaged their baggage. Shāwar was led to the encampment and killed.

Asad-al-Dīn (Shīrkūh) was appointed in his place as vizir to (the Caliph) al-'Āḍid until, on the twenty-second day of the

month of Jumādā the Second, in the year 564 [23rd March, 1168] Shīrkūh died. Al-‘Āḍid entrusted the vizirate to Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn and invested him with the title al-Malik al-Nāṣir.

Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn directed the affairs of the country, spent money lavishly, and brought all men under his authority. Repenting past wine-bibbing, he renounced drink, and shunned frivolous pleasures. When the Franks laid siege to Damietta, he managed the situation most excellently, so that they withdrew frustrated. Their engines of war were captured, their mangonels burnt, and of their number many perished [November 1169].⁵

Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn was now well established in Egypt. His father Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb joined him, as did his brothers and his family. He now addressed himself to the removal of the Fāṭimid dynasty and exterminated its members, leaving not a trace of them. In this he was aided by God.

When (the Fāṭimid Caliph) al-‘Āḍid died, Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn dropped his name from the *khutbah* and enjoined the preachers to mention instead the name of al-Mustaḍī’ (bi-Nūr-Allāh, the ‘Abbāsīd Caliph). He seized the Palace and its contents on the 10th of Muḥarram, 567 [13th September, 1171]. Then he began to make preparations to attack the Franks, for now he was sole master of Egypt and its provinces. ‘Imād-al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī wrote a message of good tidings, to be read in all Islamic lands, reproclaiming the name of the ‘Abbāsīd (Caliph) in the *khutbah* in Egypt. He wrote a second message of good tidings to be read in the presence of the Caliph al-Mustaḍī’ bi-Nūr-Allāh in Baghdad, which he sent by the hand of the Qāḍī Shihāb-al-Dīn al-Muṭahhar ibn-Sharaf-al-Dīn ibn-‘Aṣrūn. The Qāḍī departed and left no town or village in which he did not read the proclamation, and at last reached Baghdad, where the citizens came out to meet him. He entered the city on Saturday the twelfth of the month. The markets of Baghdad were hung with decorations and he was invested with a robe of honor.

On Friday, the fourteenth of the month (of Muḥarram, 567 the body of) al-Kāmil Shujā’-ibn-Shāwar was exhumed from the place in the Palace where he had been murdered and interred. His corpse was found entangled with those of his uncle and his brother, and all were gathered into a coffin and carried to the tomb of Shāwar. Shāwar’s corpse was exhumed from an

obscure place. They placed him in another coffin and the two coffins were taken to the sepulcher of Ṭayy ibn-Shāwar⁶ and there properly buried.

On the nineteenth of the month [22nd September], the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir set out from Cairo and encamped at the village of al-Bīr al-Baydā', with the intention of going to Syria. He reached al-Shawbak [Montreal], where he skirmished with the Franks and then returned to Aylah [Eilat]. On this occasion about five thousand head of his camels and horses perished.

On the third of Rabī' al-Awwal alms [*zakah*] were distributed among the indigent and the destitute, the wayfarers, and debtors. The shares prescribed for the tax-collectors, "for those whose hearts are to be reconciled, for the workers in the cause of God, and for the ransoming of captives of war,"⁷ were turned over to the public treasury [*Bayt al-Māl*]. The *zakah* was levied on merchandise and all that was legally due on cattle, date-palms, and green produce.

Coins were struck in the name of the Caliph al-Mustaḍī' bi-Amr-Allāh and in that of al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr-al-Dīn, each name being engraved on the face of the coin.⁸ This took place on the seventh of the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir [8th December]. On the same day, the silver plaques in the *miḥrabs* of the Cairo mosques that bore the names of Fāṭimid Caliphs were torn down; their weight amounted to five thousand *dirhams* of mixed silver and copper.⁹ Still on that day the Ghuzz were quartered in the West Palace and those who were dwelling therein were expelled. But then came news that wine-drinking, which had been stopped and the taverns closed and their memory exterminated, had returned to Alexandria by paying a sum to the *dīwān* of Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb. These places were therefore reopened and the abominable practices reappeared.

In the month of Jumāda al-Ākhirah the Marine dinar was fixed at a half and a quarter [i.e. three quarters] of a *dīnār* after it had been a half and an eighth [i.e. five eighths] of a *dīnār*.¹⁰

On the seventh of this month [5th February 1172] 'Uthmān al-Malik al-'Azīz was born. On the thirteenth, the contents of the private treasury in the Palace were inspected and one hundred coffers were found which contained rich garments set with gems, gold, and silver, costly necklaces, splendid treasures,

precious jewels, and other magnificent valuables. The inventory was done by Bahā'-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh.¹¹

In the same year (567) the fieldmice increased their voracious attacks on the date-palm, the sugar cane, and other trees to such an extent that one hundred *faddān* [1 *faddan* = 1½ acres] planted with sugar cane yielded but sixty sugar loaves. Despite this, prices remained low, the rate being three *irdabbs* [1 *irdabb* = 5½ bushels] of wheat a *dīnār*, eight *irdabbs* of barley a *dīnār*, fourteen *irdabbs* of beans a *dīnār*, and a qintar [500 lbs.] of sugar sold at three *dīnārs*.

On the ninth of Rajab [8th March, 1172] the robes of honor arrived which had been sent to Nūr-al-Dīn by the Caliph in Baghdad; they consisted of a black fur-mantle and a collar of gold. Nūr-al-Dīn put them on, and then sent them to al-Malik al-Nāṣir (Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn) for him to wear. It was said that a robe of honor had previously been sent to Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, but he deemed it too short, too mean and unworthy of his dignity. The man who brought the robe of honor to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn passed the night at Ra's al-Ṭābiyyah.

On the tenth of the month, the Qāḍi al-Quḍāt [Chief Qāḍi] Saḍr-al-Dīn ibn-Darbās, a number of highly respected men,¹² the (Koran) readers, and the preachers went to the tent of the emissary who brought the robe of honor, an old Najm friend. At the same time the town was decorated. The Sultan's band¹³ played three times a day at the Nāṣiri Gate, and in Damascus the band played five times a day at the Nūri Gate. On the eleventh of Rajab, the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn rode forth in his robe of honor through the streets of al-Qaṣrayn and Cairo. When he came to the Zuwaylah Gate, he took off the robe of honor and returned it to his residence. He then went out to play ball.

In that year a severe misfortune afflicted all the people of Egypt. For the gold and silver coinage left the country as if never to return. It disappeared and could not be found, and men complained publicly of their misfortune, and if a golden *dīnār* were mentioned, it was as though a jealous husband's wife were talked about in his presence, and if a *dīnār* came to a man's hand it came as an earnest of paradise.

From the Palace (of the Fāṭimid Caliph) so many *dīnārs* and

dirhams were taken, at a random estimate, so much gold and silver ware, jewels, copper, vases, furniture, cloths, and weapons which constituted wealth such as Chosroes never equaled, nor imagination conceived, nor the Mamlūks ever attained. Indeed no one could assess it save He who can count men on the Day of Judgment.

Also in this year the Sultan reviewed the Judhām Bedouins. Their number was reckoned at seven thousand horsemen, but they were acknowledged to have one thousand and three hundred, and no more. On this basis the due tithes were taken, and it amounted to one million *dīnārs*. The same was required of the Tha'alibah Arabs, but they were much vexed and hinted that they might prefer allegiance to the Franks.

On the twenty-second of the month of Rajab [18th March, 1772], the *khutbah* was delivered at the Friday prayers in Miṣr and Cairo. Black banners¹⁴ were set on the pulpits, and the preachers wore black robes sent to them from Baghdad. It was announced in the town that no one should fail to attend the Friday service and the performance of his devotional duties. For whoever should be found late or delinquent in this faced enshacklement in prison, rebuke, and ridicule. Therefore even those who had no desire to do so attended.

On the twenty-third, the emissaries from Syria were clothed in gold-embroidered robes of honor which had remained from those taken from the Palace. They were given liberal hospitality and entertainment.

In the month of Sha'bān, haillike round stones fell in al-Daghalīyah and al-Murtāḥīyah. Crops were destroyed, and one hailstone struck an ox's head and killed it upon the instant. The weight of the stones varied between one and two *ratls*.

That month the emissaries left Cairo to return to Nūr-al-Dīn, bearing robes of honor and the report of the treasury which he required each year (from Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn).

In the same month, the Sultan ordered the Christians and Jews enjoying protection under tribute¹⁵ to be dismissed and forbidden employment in affairs concerning the state, and in any *dīwān*. Some were in fact dismissed, but not one of them left the offices of the Ghuzz. The report spread of their being driven from the country and of their dwellings being taken. On

the fifteenth, certain of their leading men were dismissed from government employment, but others remained. However, those employed in offices of the Ghuzz remained undisturbed, because their masters refused to dismiss them on the ground that they were practiced in the management of their affairs and that if these men were discharged their interests would miscarry.

On the twenty-first of the month [18th April, 1172], the Sultan left for Alexandria. His departure thither was caused by the large number of his men and the smallness of his wealth, whereby he found it difficult to manage matters. He had been told that the Barqah country possessed wide resources, and that it was inhabited only by Bedouins who could offer no resistance. He therefore set forth, and in Alexandria held a council which was attended by (his father) Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, Shihāb-al-Dīn (his uncle), and Taqī-al-Dīn (Shāhanshāh, his nephew). They planned an expedition into these western regions seizing the crops before the harvest. Letters were despatched that required the presence of the troops in Miṣr and Cairo and the preparing of supplies from the dealers, farriers, and others. The Bedouins were ordered to render the *zakāh*¹⁶ and cease from stopping the slave-merchants on their way. In this year one hundred thousand head of sheep happened to perish. It was agreed that Taqī-al-Dīn 'Umar ibn-Shāhanshāh ibn-(Najm al-Dīn) Ayyūb should march with his troops and five hundred other horsemen, and it was arranged that their provision should be charged to Buḥayrah Province.

In the month of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah [25th June-24 July], a party of soldiers gathered in Miṣr and rushed into the streets with swords and torches, attacking men, invading their homes, and setting fire to the houses.

In Dhū 'l-Hijjah [25 July-22 August], messengers arrived from the self-styled King of the Ethiopians bearing presents and a letter addressed to the Caliph (al-'Āḍid). The letter was read and the presents accepted. The soldiers of the King of Nubia also arrived at the villages bordering the frontier of Aswān.

In this year estrangement and animosity arose between al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr-al-Dīn Maḥmūd and the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf, because Nūr-al-Dīn had sent to Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn an order to assemble the army of Egypt and march with it to the

land of the Franks and lay siege to Karak, where they should both meet. Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn made preparations to march and wrote to Nūr-al-Dīn to so inform him. But his officers raised his fears concerning a meeting with Nūr-al-Dīn, who meanwhile had assembled his troops and awaited news. When the report came to him that Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn was on the march, he set forth from Damascus and laid siege to Karak where he awaited the arrival of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn. But instead a letter from Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn came to him in which he excused himself from coming because of disorders in Egypt and his fear of leaving it without an army. He therefore had to inform Nūr-al-Dīn that he had returned to Cairo. At this Nūr-al-Dīn was much incensed, and determined to enter Egypt and drive Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn from it.

Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn heard of this and was alarmed. He assembled his kinsmen and close friends and asked their counsel. Said his nephew Taqī-al-Dīn 'Umar: "If Nūr-al-Dīn comes, we all will oppose him and bar him from the land." Some agreed with him, but Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb cursed them and rejected their counsel. He was a wise and crafty man and cried out to his grandson: "Sit down," and cursed him. Then he turned to his son the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, and said: "I am thy father and Shihāb-al-Dīn al-Ḥārīmī here is thine uncle. Dost thou think that amongst these men present are any who wish thee well more than we do?" "No," answered Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn. "Then, by God," continued Najm-al-Dīn, "if thine uncle and I saw this Sultan Nūr-al-Dīn we could do no other than dismount and kiss the ground before him. If he commanded us to strike your neck with the sword we should assuredly do so. If even we are of this temper, how should others be? Why, should any one of the emirs and soldiers whom you observe before you see the Sultan Nūr-al-Dīn standing unaccompanied he would not dare to remain in his stirrups, and could not but alight and kiss the ground before him. This land belongs to him. It was he who set you up in it as his viceroy. If his wish is to dismiss you what need is there for him to come? He can command you by letter brought by a courier and demanding your attendance upon him. And he can entrust with the government of the land whomsoever he wishes." Then he turned upon all those present and exclaimed: "Leave us alone. We are the Mamlūks and

slaves of the Sultan Nūr-al-Dīn, to do with as he wills.” Upon this they dispersed. Most of them wrote of this incident to Nūr-al-Dīn. Then Najm-al-Dīn took his son Saladin aside and said to him: “You are yet ignorant and of little understanding. You gather together this large assembly and unfold to them what is in your thoughts. Now if Nūr-al-Dīn should hear that it was your aim to deny him this land he would exert against you his greatest efforts and invade it. And when he attacked you, you would not find a single one of these soldiers beside you. Indeed they would deliver you to him. Now after this council they will write to him of my words. Do you therefore write to him yourself in the same style saying: ‘What need have you to march against me? Your nobles can come and take me with a rope on my neck.’ When he hears this, he will turn aside from his attack on you and concern himself with more pressing business. Days pass, and every day doth some new work employ the great and Glorious God.” So Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn did as his father counseled him, and Nūr-al-Dīn was deceived and turned aside from his invasion. Thus the days passed, as said Najm-al-Dīn, and Nūr-al-Dīn died.

In this year Nūr-al-Dīn instituted in Syria (a postal service of carrier pigeons.)¹⁷ In it also the Emir of Yanbu’ [Yenbo] was installed as Khaṭīb in the *Jāmi’-al-‘Atīq* [the old Mosque] following the death, in the month of Muḥarram, of the Sharīf Taj-al-Sharaf Ḥasan ibn-Abī-l-Futūḥ Nāṣir.

The Year 568 (A.H.)

[23rd August, 1172–11th August, 1173]

In this year the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn set forth with his troops against Karak and Shawbak [Montréal, south of Karak]. It had been his custom that whenever he heard that a caravan had left Damascus for Egypt, he marched to protect it from the Franks, and it now became his wish to broaden and improve that road. So he marched against these places and invested them. But he was unable to take them, and returned to Egypt.

In this year Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn sent presents to the Sultan, Nūr-al-Dīn. They included furnitures, objects of gold and silver, crystal and jade, the like of which would be hard to find, precious

stones and pearls of great value, of monies sixty thousand *dīnārs*, together with many rare and desirable curios. There were also an elephant, pieces of red tabby cloth and three Balakhshah rubies weighing more than thirty *mithqals* [*mithqal* = 4.64 grams]. This was in the month of Shawwāl.

During this year, the negroes of Nubia marched from their country (on behalf of the Fāṭimids) to invest Aswān, where Kanz-al-Dawlah was already positioned. The Sultan despatched al-Shujā' al-Ba'lbaki with many soldiers to Aswān, but on his arrival he found that the negroes had moved away. Yet he pursued them with Kanz-al-Dawlah, and brought them to battle, and killed many of them. He then returned to Cairo.

In this year Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Shams-al-Dawlah Fakhr-al-Dīn Tūrānshāh, the son of Ayyūb and brother of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, also marched on Nubia and seized the fortress of Ibrīm, as well as taking captives and booty, before returning to Aswān. He gave Ibrīm in fief to a man named Ibrāhīm the Kurd, who went to the place with a number of Kurds. They made a series of raids on Nubia until, after much toil and hardship, their hands were filled with wealth and flocks. Then a letter from the King of Nubia, accompanied by presents, reached Shams-al-Dawlah who was then at Qūs. This prince received the herald well and bestowed on him a robe of honor. But he gave him also two pairs of arrows, saying: "Tell the King I have no answer for him save this." At the same time, he despatched his own envoy to report on the land. The envoy journeyed as far as Dongola, and then returned to his master and said: "I found a poor country. It has no crops save maize and small date-palms, from which they gain their sustenance. The King goes forth naked upon a saddle-less horse, wrapped in a shabby mantle. He has not a hair on his head. When I approached him and gave him greeting he laughed and veiled himself. I was then by his order branded on the hand with the form of a cross, and granted about fifty *ratls* of flour. In all Dongola there is no building save the King's palace; the rest consists of reed huts."

Throughout this year the question of Egypt much exercised the thoughts of Nūr-al-Dīn, for he was angered because Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn had seized dominion over it. Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn sent many messengers to Nūr-al-Dīn with money. But Nūr-al-Dīn de-

spatched his vizir al-Ṣāḥib¹⁸ Muwaffaq-al-Dīn Khālid ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Naṣr ibn-Ṣaghīr al-Qaysarāni to Egypt in order to make a survey of the land and enquire into its affairs. He should also decide upon the tribute that Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn should pay each year, and establish the degree of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn's obedience to Nūr-al-Dīn. The vizir departed to Cairo, and if God pleases, his story there shall presently be related.

In this year died Ayyūb ibn-Shādi ibn-Marwān ibn-Yā'qūb Najm-al-Dīn, described as al-Malik al-Afdal Abi-Sa'id, the Kurd, father of the Sultan, Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf. He had gone out from the Victory Gate in Cairo, and his horse had thrown him to the ground. This happened on Tuesday the eighteenth of Dhū'l-Hijjah [31st July, 1173]. He was carried to his house on the nineteenth of this month, or as some say, (*wa-qīla*) three days before the end of the month. He was buried beside his brother Asad-al-Dīn Shīrkūh. Both their bodies were removed to Medina in the year 580 [A.D. 1184].

The Year 569 (A.H.)

[12th August 1173–1st August 1174]

In this year Muwaffaq-al-Dīn Abū'l-Baqā' Khālid ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Naṣr ibn-Ṣaghīr, known as Ibn-al-Qaysarāni, arrived in Cairo from the court of the Sultan al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr-al-Dīn to demand from Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn an account of all the things he had seized from the palaces of the (Fātimid) Caliphs and of the revenues he had collected (from the *dīwāns*). This distressed Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, who exclaimed: "Have we come to this pass?" But he acquainted the emissary with what had been collected for him and reviewed the militia before him, explaining the fiefs granted to them, their rations, and the largesse dispersed among them.¹⁹ "Such a country as this," he declared, "cannot be kept in order save with much money. You know yourself what great and powerful dignitaries of state are, and how they are accustomed to an ample and spacious mode of life. They have disposed of places that cannot be retaken, nor will they allow any decrease of their revenues." Thereupon he (Saladin) began to build up his treasury.

In the same year, the Emir Shams-al-Dawlah Tūrānshāh,

brother of the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, journeyed to the Yemen, because Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn and his family were greatly afraid that al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr-al-Dīn would enter Egypt, and oust them. They therefore wished to have a kingdom whither they might repair if need be. They had at first chosen Nubia, but when Shams-al-Dawlah went there it did not please him, and he returned to Cairo. The jurist *ʿUmārah-al-Yamānī*, who was attached to the Emir Shams-al-Dawlah, composed panegyrics to him, and had become close to him, had spoken to him of the Yemen and of its great wealth. He pointed out the ease with which it could be conquered, and urged him to become sole ruler, expounding his opinion in a poem which opened as follows:

Knowledge has always been in need of the ensign of power,
But the sword's edge makes needless the pen,

and:

Make for thyself a kingdom,
In which you are vassel to none,
And kindle a fire on the mountain's top.
Such was the start of Ibn-Tūmart.
As everyone says: "Meat on the drying plank."²⁰

Now Shams-al-Dawlah was a bounteous man and his expenses were great; therefore he was little content with the income he drew from his fiefs in Egypt and wished to enlarge his circumstances. He begged leave of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn that he might invade (the Yemen), and when the Sultan acceded, he made his preparations for this purpose and mustered his troops, setting forth at the beginning of the month of Rajab. He came to Mecca, performed the lesser pilgrimage, and thence left for the Yemen where, at that time, the ruler was Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn-Mahdī, known as ʿAbd-al-Nabī. On the seventh of Shawwāl [11th May, 1174], Shams-al-Dawlah took Zābid and arrested ʿAbd-al-Nabī. He also took other cities of the Yemen, and he was given the title of al Malik al-Muʿazzam. In all the lands that he had conquered people prayed for him in the *khutbah* by that title, following the name of the Caliph al-Mustaḍī bi-Amr-Allāh.

He sent news of these events to Cairo, and the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn despatched a messenger to the Malik al-‘Ādil to inform him about them. He in turn sent word to the Caliph al-Mustaḍī in Baghdad.

In this year, a group of the citizens of Cairo conspired to set one of the sons of al-‘Āḍid on the throne and destroy Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn; they exchanged letters with the Franks to this effect. Among these men were the distinguished qāḍi Diyā-al-Dīn Naṣr-Allāh ibn-‘Abdullāh ibn-Kāmil al-Qāḍi, the Sharīf al-Jalīs Najāḥ al-Ḥamāmi, the jurist ‘Umārah ibn-‘Alī al-Yamānī, the Kātib ‘Abd-al-Ṣamad, the illustrious qāḍi Salāmah al-‘Awrīs, who had charge of the *Dīwān* of Administration²¹ and that of Justice, the chief of the Bāṭini sect²² ‘Abd-al-Jabbār ibn-Ismā‘īl ibn-‘Abd-al-Qawī, and the preacher Zayn-al-Dīn ibn-Naja. But (ibn-Naja) betrayed them to the Sultan, who questioned him on the understanding that he be granted all the houses and all the other possessions of the (Bāṭini) Missionary Ibn Kāmil. On these terms he gave answers, and the conspirators were arrested; on Saturday the twenty-second of the month of Ramaḍān, they were strangled between the two palaces. ‘Umārah was strangled and hung crucified between Bāb al-Dhahab and Bāb al-Baḥr. Ibn-Kāmil was put to death in Ra’s al-Khurūqiyīn, which today is known as the Market of the Emir of the Armies, and al-‘Awrīs was executed in the Street of the Chain. ‘Abd-al-Ṣamad, ibn-Salamah, the Emir Ibn-al-Muḥabba, Muṣṭana‘-al-Dawlah, and Hāj ibn-‘Abd al-Qawī were despatched in Cairo. The Qāḍi Ibn-Kāmil was strangled in Cairo on Wednesday the nineteenth of Shawwāl. Shubrumā and his companions, together with some soldiers, slaves, and followers, as well as some of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn’s emirs, were also strangled. All their monies and properties were seized by Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, so that their heirs succeeded to nothing whatsoever. Those who were attached to the Fāṭimid dynasty were hunted down, and many of them were killed and many imprisoned. It was proclaimed that all the soldiers and the staff of the palace, as well as the Sudanese, should move to the farthest parts of Upper Egypt. In Alexandria, on Sunday the twenty-fifth of Ramaḍān, a missionary the Fāṭimids called Qadīd was arrested. Many Sudanese too, were arrested and branded with fire on their faces and chests.

In this year, the Sultan furnished the vizir Ibn-al-Qaysarānī with the wealth he had collected. By the hand of his minister he sent the following gifts to Nūr-al-Dīn: five copies of the Koran, one being of thirty parts with covers of blue satin and held together by golden clasps with gold locks bearing gold inscriptions, another of ten parts and covered with pistachio-colored brocade, and a third of leather with a gold lock and written in the hand of Ibn-al-Bawwāb [the famous calligrapher]; three balas²³ rubies, one weighing twenty-two *mithqāls*, another twelve, and a third ten and a half; six emeralds, one weighing three *mithqāls*; one red (oriental) ruby weighing seven *mithqāls*; one blue (sapphire) stone weighing six *mithqāls*; one hundred jeweled necklaces weighing 857 *mithqāls*; fifty vessels of balm ointment; twenty pieces of crystal; fourteen checkered earthenware drinking bowls and dishes; an ewer and basin of jade; a gilt wine cup with a handle containing two pearls and in the center a sapphire; plates, drinking bowls and dishes, all of china porcelain and numbering forty pieces; two large blocks of aloes-wood; amber including one piece weighing thirty *ratls*, and another twenty; one hundred satin garments; twenty-four gold-embroidered black carpets; twenty-four garments of white figured silk; a gold-embroidered pepper-colored set of clothes; another splendid set, yellow colored and gold embroidered; a magnificent blue set, also gold embroidered; a splendid set with red and white thread; a pistachio-colored set with gold thread; and many clothes as well, the value of it all amounting to 225,000 *dinārs*. The messengers departed with these gifts, but learned on the way of the death of Nūr-al-Dīn, whereupon they turned back, losing some of the treasures.

In this year, on Wednesday the eleventh of the month of Shawwāl [15th May, 1174], the Sultan, al-ʿAdil Nūr-al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn-Zangī, died of a chest spasm [angina pectoris]. He had just completed his preparations to seize Egypt from Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf ʿibn-Ayyūb. He was prayed for in the *khutbah* in Syria, Egypt, the two holy places (of Mecca and Medina), and the Yemen. He was succeeded by his son al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿil, who was eleven years old. The Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn included him in the *khutbah* in Egypt, and struck coins in his name.

In the same year, four days before the end of the month of

Dhū-'l-Hijjah [28th July 1174], the fleet of the Sicilian Franks suddenly appeared before Alexandria.²⁴ This fleet had been equipped by William, son of William, son of Roger the self-styled King of Sicily. He had succeeded his father in the year 560 [A.D. 1166] while he was yet young. His mother acted as regent, and affairs were managed for a year by a servant called Peter²⁵ who then fled to the Sayyid Abī-Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn 'Abd-al-Mu'min (the Almohade sovereign of North Africa and part of Spain). William then himself took control of the government, and in the year 571 was assiduous in the construction of this fleet. He assembled an army such as had never been raised by his grandfather, Roger. In the dromonds [*tarā'id*] he embarked a thousand horsemen. He appointed one of his officers called Akīm Mūdhaqah²⁶ as commander of the fleet, which sailed for Alexandria. William died in the year 581.

When the fleet anchored off the coast, 2,500 horsemen landed from the dromonds. Between horse and foot, thirty thousand fighting men disembarked. The number of dromonds carrying horsemen was thirty-six, and there were two hundred galleys [*shīna*],²⁷ each carrying 150 men. The number of ships [*sufun*] carrying engines of war and instruments of siege was six. Forty transports [*markab*] carried the provisions and the infantry, who numbered about fifty thousand. They landed on the coast adjacent to the lighthouse (of Alexandria) and attacked the Muslims until they drove them back to the city walls. Seven Muslims were killed. The Frankish ships sailed on to the harbor where the Muslim ships were stationed. Some of these they sank and, gaining possession of the shore, they encamped there. By the morning they had erected three hundred tents and moved on to the siege of the town. They set up three siege towers with battering rams, and three large mangonels that threw huge black stones.

The Sultan was at this time at Fāqūs, where he learned the news, the third day after the landing of the Franks, and began to assemble his troops. They arrived before Alexandria while the fighting and the bombardment by the ballistas were in progress. The doors of the city were opened and the Muslims flung themselves upon the Franks. They burned the siege towers, and God granted them His aid while the battle raged through-

out Wednesday until the afternoon. This was the fourth day after the landing of the Franks. The Muslims made a second onslaught as darkness fell upon the encampment and, seizing everything within it, killed great numbers of the Frankish horse and foot. They then rushed to the sea, and captured a number of the Frankish ships which they holed and sank. The remaining ships took refuge in flight. A great company of Franks were killed and the Muslims gained as spoil engines of war, supplies, and weapons, such as could not be produced save at great labor. The remainder of the Franks sailed at the beginning of the year 570 [1174].

Also in this year, that is the year 569, the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn placed the district of Naqādah in the province of Qūṣ in upper Egypt, as well as a third of the district of Sandabis in al-Qalyūbiyah in *waqf* for the benefit of twenty-four attendants in service at the noble tomb of the Prophet (in Medina). He ensured this by a decree dated the eighteenth of the month of Rabī' al-Akhir; the foundation continues till this day.

The low level of the Nile this year was six cubits and twenty fingers, and the high level was seventeen cubits and twenty fingers.

The Year 570 (A.H.)

[2nd August, 1174–21st July, 1175]

In this year, Kanz-al-Dawlah, governor of Aswān, assembled the Bedouins and the Sudanese and advanced on Cairo with the purpose of restoring the Fāṭimid dynasty. He distributed great sums among his levies, and a group of those who sympathized joined him. A certain number of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn's emirs were killed, and at the same time a man called 'Abbās ibn-Shādi rebelled in the village of Ṭūd. He seized the land of Qūṣ and pillaged its wealth. Thereupon Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn despatched his brother al-Malik al-'Ādil at the head of a strong army. Joined by al-Khaṭīr Muhadhdhab ibn-Mammāṭi, al-'Ādil set forth, and defeated Shādi and scattered his forces, and killed him. Al-'Ādil marched on, and was met by Kanz-al-Dawlah in the neighborhood of Ṭūd. They joined battle, and after the greater part of his troops had been killed, Kanz-al-Dawlah fled. He was killed

at last on the seventh of Ṣafar, and al-ʿĀdil returned to Cairo on the twenty-eighth of that month [28th September, 1174].

This year news reached the Sultan that al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Mujīr-al-Dīn Ismaʿīl, the son of Nūr-al-Dīn, had gone to Aleppo and made peace with the Sultan Sayf-al-Dīn Ghāzi, lord of Mosul. This much disquieted him, so he set forth to Syria. He encamped at Birkat al-Jubb on the first of Ṣafar [1st September 1174], and on the thirteenth of Rabīʿ al-Awwal [12th October] he left this place for Ṣadr and Aylah. With him were seven hundred horsemen. As regent over Egypt he had appointed his brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. He encamped at Buṣra, and on Sunday the twenty-ninth of Rabīʿ al-Awwal [28th October] came to al-Kuswah where men came forth to meet him.

He entered Damascus on Monday the 1st of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir [29th October 1174], taking possession of it without opposition. He dispensed vast sums among the people, and ordered that it be proclaimed that minds could be put at ease, that the customs dues would be abolished, and that the outrages, abominations, and imposts that had taken place on the death of Nūr-al-Dīn would cease. He declared that he had come solely for the purpose of educating al-Ṣāliḥ, the son of Nūr-al-Dīn, and that he but stood for him and managed his kingdom. He wrote to the provinces in this sense. After some resistance he gained possession of the citadel in Damascus and installed in it his brother Ṣahīr-al-Islām Ṭughtikīn ibn-Ayyūb; then he sent the good tidings to Cairo.

Early in the month of Jumādā al-Ulā he left Damascus and besieged Ḥimṣ until he took it on the eleventh of the month [8th December 1174]. The citadel alone resisted him; so leaving a detachment to invest it, he marched to Ḥamāh to which he laid siege on the twenty-third of the month [20th December]. ʿIzz-al-Dīn Jurdīk was in the town and surrendered it to him. In the same month he installed Ibn-ʿAṣrūn as Qāḍi of Egypt.

He then set forth towards Aleppo, at the same time despatching Jurdīk to discuss peace with al-Ṣāliḥ (Ismāʿīl). But that prince's officers rejected the offer and seized Jurdīk and put him in chains. Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn heard of this after he had quit Ḥamāh for Aleppo. He thereupon returned to Ḥamāh, but left again for Aleppo and encamped at Jabal Jawsh on the third of Jumādā

al-Ākhirah [30th December]. The citizens of Aleppo prepared themselves, took the field, and engaged him in desperate conflict until the first day of the month of Rajab. Then Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn (raised the siege of Aleppo and) marched on Ḥimṣ for he had learned that the Count [Raymond III] who ruled the Franks of Tripoli had received letters from the people of Aleppo and was now investing Ḥimṣ. When Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn drew near to Ḥimṣ the Count returned to his domain, and Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn laid siege to the citadel of Ḥimṣ, levelling mangonels against it until it capitulated on the twenty-first of Sha'bān [17th March, 1175]. Thence he marched to Baalbek, which he besieged until he captured its citadel on the fourth of Ramaḍān [29th March]. He then returned to Ḥimṣ. On Sunday the nineteenth [13th April] he fought the troops of al-Ṣāliḥ at Qurūn Hamāh; he gained the victory, put them to flight and took all they had as plunder. Only seven men were killed in this battle.

Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn then moved on Aleppo and camped before it. He suppressed prayers for al-Ṣāliḥ in the *khutbah*, and throughout his dominions forbade the striking of coins that bore the prince's name. Al-Ṣāliḥ's officers sent a mission to the Sultan requesting peace. He replied that he consented upon condition that he would retain all that he held of Syria while they kept what they had; he further demanded that they should cede him al-Ma'arraḥ and Kafr Tāb. The pact was drawn up, and after swearing to observe its terms, Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn signed it with his hand and returned to Ḥamāh.

Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn wrote to (the Caliph of) Baghdad recounting his conquests and his struggle against the Franks; he told him that he had restored the 'Abbāsīd *khutbah* in Egypt and subjugated many territories within the confines of the Maghrib as well as of the whole of the Yemen. He told the Caliph that a deputation of seventy cavaliers had presented itself to him this year, and that each of its members had asked him for a patent of appointment in respect of the land he ruled. He himself therefore asked of the Caliph a patent of rule for Egypt, the Yemen, the Maghrib, Syria and for all countries he might conquer with his sword. And so there arrived, in the custody of envoys of the Caliph al-Mustaḍī bi-Amr-Allāh, emblems of honor, black ('Abbāsīd) banners, and a signed patent of rule for Egypt, Syria and other lands.

The Sultan next marched on Ba'rīn, also called Bārīn,²⁸ and laid siege to its citadel until it surrendered to him on the twentieth of this month of Shawwāl [13th May, 1175], whereupon he returned to Ḥamāh.

In this year, upon the recommendation of Najm-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-Muṣāl, 'Imad-al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī was appointed deputy to the Qāḍī al-Fāḍil in the Sultan's Secretariat.²⁹

Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn later visited Damascus, and then removed to Marj al-Ṣufar,³⁰ where he encamped and where emissaries of the Franks came to him seeking a truce. The Sultan assented and laid down his terms.

Because of the drought in Syria he gave leave to his soldiers to go to Egypt, and they departed. He returned to Damascus in the month of Muḥarram 571, and appointed as its governor (his nephew) Taqī-al-Dīn 'Umar ibn-Shāhanshāh ibn-Ayyūb.

The Year 571 (A.H.)

[22nd July, 1175–9th July, 1176]

On the eleventh of Muḥarram [1st August, 1175] of this year, Sharaf-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh, one of the officers of Taqī-al-Dīn 'Umar, led an army into the Maghrib, and seized twenty thousand *dīnārs* from the ruler of Awjalah³¹ for distribution among his lieutenants and ten thousand for himself. He had marched on toward other cities when he learned of the death of the prince of Awjalah, whereupon he returned to this city and invested it. The citizens resisted, so he took their city by force, killing seven hundred of them and seizing great booty, returning thereafter to Egypt.

In this year the citizens of Aleppo prepared to fight Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, so he called for the troops in Egypt. These reached him in Damascus during the month of Sha'bān, and he took the field on the first of Ramaḍān. He met the men of Aleppo on the tenth of Shawwāl [22nd April, 1176], and there was battle between them. The ruler of Mosul, the Sultan (Sayf-al-Dīn) Ghāzi, held back, wherefore the Aleppan troops believed that (their ally) had fled, and fled themselves. Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn pursued them and killed large numbers of them. He captured Ghāzi's tent and took numerous prisoners, together with money, munitions, furnitures, provisions, and precious objects beyond description.

(His brother) al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Shams-al-Dawlah Tūrān-shāh then joined him from the Yemen, and the Sultan bestowed on him Ghāzi's tent and all the furniture and weapons that it contained. The horses and the treasure chests he divided among his brother's suite. The prisoners he invested with robes of honor and then released. Ghāzi rejoined his troops and they took refuge in Aleppo, returning later to Mosul. Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn himself marched on Aleppo and lay encamped before it from the fourteenth [26 April, 1176] to the nineteenth of Shawwāl. He then removed to Buzā'ah³² and pressed its garrison until it surrendered. On Thursday the twenty-fourth he came to Manbij and besieged it for several days before he overcame it at last. From its fortress he took three hundred thousand *dīnārs*, and nigh on two million *dīnārs* worth of silver, vases, and weapons. The Sultan moved next to 'Azāz³³ and besieged it from Saturday the 4th of Dhū'l-Qa'dah to the 11th of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah [15th May–21 June]. On taking it he appointed as its governor a man in whom he had confidence, and left for Aleppo.

On Tuesday the fourteenth of this month some Ismā'īlis attacked the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, but after certain of his emirs and retinue had been wounded he triumphed over them. He marched again to Aleppo and encamped there on the sixteenth [26th June]. He assigned its rural properties as fiefs among his soldiers and allotted to them also the taxes and monies of the place. Without fighting, he put the inhabitants to sore straits, preventing any from leaving or entering.

The Year 572 (A.H.)

[10th July, 1176–29th June, 1177]

On the fourth of Muḥarram of the year 572 [13th July, 1176] the two armies marched against each other. They joined battle and several of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn's officers were killed. Peace was then concluded between Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn and al-Malik al-Ṣalīḥ upon the condition that Aleppo and its dependencies should go to al-Ṣālīḥ.

On the tenth [19th July] the Sultan left Aleppo and came to Maṣyāb,³⁴ where was Rāshid-al-Dīn Sinān ibn-Salmān ibn-Muḥammad, lord of the Ismā'īli³⁵ fortresses and leader of the

Bāṭinis.³⁶ From him the Sināni faction takes its name. The Sultan discharged mangonels and ballistas against this fortress of Maṣyāb on the twenty-third [1st August] of this month and for days afterwards; but he could not prevail, and raised the siege. His troops filled their hands with what they could take from the villagers about.

Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn appointed Sharaf-al-Dīn Abu-Sa'd 'Abdullah ibn-Abū-'Aṣrūn as qāḍi of Damascus in place of Kamāl-al-Dīn al-Shahrazūri, who had died.

In this year the Franks made an incursion into the Biqā'.³⁷ The Emir Shams-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Malik ibn-al-Muqaddam issued forth from Baalbek and engaged them, killing and taking prisoners. Al-Mu'azzam Shams-al-Dawlah also came forth from Damascus and encountered them at 'Ain al-Jarr. He then marched to Ḥamāh, where Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn was, and joined him on the second of Ṣafar. The Sultan then left Ḥamāh and entered Damascus on the seventeenth of this month [25th August]. There he stayed until the fourth of the month of Rabī' al Awwal; then he left it for Cairo, leaving his brother al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Shams-al-Dawlah Tūrānshāh ibn-Ayyūb as his viceroy in Damascus. He arrived in Cairo four days from the end of the month [30th September, 1176].

This year the Sultan ordered the building of walls round Cairo, the citadel, and Miṣr. Their compass was 29,302 cubits, the cubit here being the cubit of work. He assigned this task to the Emir Bahā'-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh al-Asadī, who began to build the citadel. Around the walls he dug a deep fosse; but in digging at the foot of the wall he narrowed the circuit wall. In the place where the citadel now stands there were then a number of mosques, among them that of Sa'd-al-Dawlah; these became a part of the citadel. Within it was dug a well to which one descended by steps cut from the rock to the water level.

In the same year the Sultan ordered the building of the school that is near the tomb of al-Shāfi'i³⁸ in al-Qarāfah and the conversion of the wine repository of the (Fāṭimid's) Palace into a hospital for the sick. These orders were executed.

On the twenty-second of Sha'bān [23rd February, 1177] the Sultan removed to Alexandria, taking with him his two sons al-Afdal 'Ali and al-'Azīz 'Uthmān. There he observed the fast

of the month of Ramaḍān and listened to the Traditions (of the Prophet) recounted to him by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū-'l-Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Salafi. He commanded the fleet to be put in order there, and constituted the impost on the Franks as an endowment for the benefit of the *faqīhs* of Alexandria.³⁹ He then returned to Cairo and feasted there for the remaining days of Ramaḍān.

In the same year (Sharaf-al-Dīn) Qarāqūsh, the mameluke of Taqī-al-Dīn, left for the Maghrib taking with him a number of soldiers. But after he had set forth toward the Maghrib, al-'Ādil commanded the Emir Khuṭlabā ibn-Mūsa, the governor of Cairo, to seize him. This officer overtook him at al-Fayyūm and brought him in chains to Cairo.

Also in this year the Sultan abolished the customs-tax⁴⁰ levied on pilgrims going by sea to Mecca by way of 'Aydḥāb, the tax being seven and a half Egyptian *dīnārs* for each person. The pilgrims had paid it at 'Aydḥāb or at Jiddah, and whosoever did not do so was stopped from the pilgrimage, and tortured by being suspended by his testicles. He compensated the Emir of Mecca for (the loss of) this tax with two thousand *dīnārs* and one thousand *irdabbs* of wheat. This did not include the receipts from their fiefs in upper Egypt and in the Yemen which was said to amount to eight thousand *irdabbs* of wheat which were brought to him at Jiddah.

The Year 573 (A.H.)

[30th June, 1177–18th June, 1178]

Three days having passed of the month of Jumādā al-Ulā, the Sultan set forth to wage holy war against the Franks. He came to Ascalon where he brought them to battle and, together with seizing booty, slew and took prisoners. Thence he marched to Ramleh, and then, on Friday the second of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [25th November], the river of Tell al-Ṣāfiyah lay across his way. His troops were thronging round it with their baggage when the Franks came down on them in great numbers led by the seigneur of Karak, Prince Arnāṭ [Arnauld or Reynaud (Reginald) de Chatillon]. The Muslims fled, although the Sultan stood firm with a body of troops. They fought together desperately and many of the Muslims suffered martyrdom, while the Franks

seized all the Muslim baggage. They harassed the Muslims during their retreat to Cairo and caused them indescribable distress, for great numbers of them and of their animals perished. Others the Franks took prisoner, among them the *faqīḥ* Ḍiyā' al-Dīn 'Īsa al-Hakkārī.

The Sultan entered Cairo in the middle of the month of Jumādā al-Ākhirah and swore that the band should not play for him until he had defeated the Franks. He deprived some Kurds, whom he believed to have been the cause of the reversal, of their appanages.

In the same year the Franks laid siege to Ḥamāh, but the citizens contended with them for four days so that they withdrew from it. They then marched on Ḥārim and besieged it for four months, after which they returned to their lands. The same year, Sharaf-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh al-Taḡawi was set free and left for Awjalah and other Maghrib cities.

On the twenty-sixth of the month of Sha'bān [19th February, 1178] in the year 573, the Sultan departed from Cairo for Syria. As governor of Egypt he left his brother al-'Ādil. He remained encamped at Birkat al-Jubb until he had said the prayers of the Feast of Ramaḍān, when he heard of the descent of the Franks upon Ḥamāh. He marched rapidly upon Damascus which he entered on the twenty-fourth of Shawwāl [15th April, 1178], whereupon the Franks raised the siege of Ḥamāh. In Damascus ambassadors from the Caliph (of Baghdad) came to him, bringing tokens of esteem.

This year the Franks moved on the castle of Ṣadr and attacked the garrison without success. They marched on with the intention of raiding the regions of Fāqūs, but then returned in order that they might muster more troops and come back again. Also in this year, Shams-al-Dīn ibn-al-Muḡaddam rebelled against the Sultan in the city of Baalbek and, seven days before the end of the month of Dhū'l-Qa'dah, the brother of al-Zāhir Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Ghāzī, son of the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, al-Malik al-Zāhid Muḡīr-al-Dīn Da'ūd was born.

Prices became high in Syria this year on account of the drought, the matter being especially grave in Aleppo.

This year the Emir Nāṣir-al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, Master of the Armory⁴¹ to Taḡi-al-Dīn ('Umar), led an army to the Maghrib.

He joined Qarāqūsh al-Taḳawī and they marched on the city of al-Rawḥān, besieging it forty days until they took it. Its governor was killed, and the conquerors levied a sum of fourteen thousand *dīnārs* from its citizens. Ibrāhīm then marched on city of Ghadāmis without any resistance and collected twelve thousand *dīnārs* from its citizens. Ibrāhīm then marched on (Jibāl) Nafūsah and overcame a number of fortresses. He acquired much wealth and strong reinforcements. A column from the army of Qarāqūsh marched to the Sudan and took great booty.

In this year the work on the walls of Cairo became apparent, the constructions rising above the ground. The roads leading to the river-harbor at Maqs were also laid.

The Emir Shihāb-al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn-Takash al-Ḥārīmī, uncle of the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn and governor of Ḥamāh, died on the twenty-seventh of Jumādā al-Ākhirah in Ḥamāh. His body was carried to Aleppo and there buried. He was a brave and wise man, skilled in affairs and generally praised.

The Year 574 (A.H.)

[19th June, 1178–7th June, 1179]

In the early days of the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir [mid-September 1178] of the year 574 a force of Franks attacked the city of Ḥamāh. The Muslims resisted them, captured their leader and some of his soldiery, and despatched them to the Sultan at Damascus, where they were beheaded.

In this year the Sultan sent his brother Shams-al-Dawlah Tūrānshāh with a large army to fight Shams-al-Dīn ibn-al-Muqaddam at Baalbek. He besieged the town for a time; then the Sultan himself joined him and directed the siege until winter arrived, when peace was made and the Sultan took over the city. He delivered it to his brother Tūrānshāh in the month of Shawwāl.

While the Sultan was engaged at Baalbek, the Franks built a fortress⁴² at the ford of Bayt al-Aḥzān [House of Sorrows], which is Bayt Ya'qūb [the House of Jacob], upon whom be peace. Between this place and Damascus lies about a day's journey, and Tiberias and Ṣafad are each half a day from it.

After the Sultan's return to Damascus an envoy (called Fādīl) had come to him from the exalted dīwān (of the Caliph of Baghdad).⁴³ Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn took the field with this personage and, coming before the fortress, seized some Franks within its neighborhood and then returned to Damascus.

Successive reports now arrived with the news that the Franks were mustering for the purpose of invading Muslim territories. The Sultan sent ahead (his nephew) the Emir 'Izz-al-Dīn Farrukhshāh, who met the Franks in a battle in which some of their leaders as well as others were killed, among them al-Hanfari [Humphrey II of Toron, the Constable of the Kingdom] and the prince of Nazareth. The Franks took flight and a number of them were taken prisoner. The Sultan had left Damascus to give aid to 'Izz-al-Dīn, and coming to al-Kiswah he met the prisoners and their chiefs, whereupon he rejoiced and returned to Damascus.

In this year the Prince [Bohemond III], ruler of the Franks in Antioch, led an expedition against Shayzar; and the Count [Raymond III], prince of Tripoli, surprised and defeated the Turcomans. On the twenty-sixth of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah [6th May, 1179] Shams-al-Dawlah left for Egypt with a number of troops because of the drought in Syria.

The Sultan attacked the fortress of Bayt-al-Aḥzān and returned with booty and prisoners. He despatched raiding parties and columns into Frankish territories.

Throughout this year Qarāqūsh al-Taḡawī and Ibrāhīm the Chief of the Armory were victorious in the Maghrib, capturing a number of fortresses.

The Year 575 (A.H.)

[8th June, 1179–27th May, 1180]

This year began while the Sultan was pursuing an expedition against the Franks and was encamped at Bānyās. He despatched troops under 'Izz-al-Dīn Farrukhshāh ibn-Ayyūb and killed and captured many men. He overcame Bayt-al-Aḥzān on the twenty-fourth of Rabi'al-Ākhir [29th August, 1179] after a combative siege. From the Franks he took one hundred thousand iron weapons of various kinds, and a great quantity of victuals and

other things. He captured about seven hundred prisoners. The fortress he razed to the ground, and he filled in the well that was within it. He then left the place, after having been there fourteen days, and attacked Tiberias, Tyre, and Bayrūt (Beirut), but returned to Damascus when many of his troops had fallen sick and a number of his officers had died.

On Saturday the eighth of Muḥarram [15th June, 1179], the Sultan rode forth at the head of his troops, accompanied by Ṣamsān-al-Dīn Ajuk, the governor of Bānyās. The Franks met him with a thousand lances and ten thousand fighting men, foot and horse, and they fought furiously. The Franks at last fled, and the Muslims pursued them hotly, slaying and taking prisoner till night fell between them. The Sultan returned to his camp when most of the night had passed and ordered the prisoners to be brought before him. The first to come forward was Bādīn ibn-Bārizān [Baldwin II of Ibelin], then came Ud [Odo], Grand Master of the Templars, the son of the Countess (of Tripoli), and the brother of the Lord of Jubayl [Byblos]. They were all enchained and, numbering about 270, were taken to Damascus and there imprisoned. The Sultan himself returned to Damascus. Bārizān's son was ransomed after a year for 150,000 *dīnārs* and the freedom of one thousand Muslim prisoners. The son of the Countess was ransomed for fifty-five thousand Tyrian *dīnārs*. Ud died and his corpse was exchanged for a (Muslim) captive, who was set free.

News then came that al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn had brought to battle the army of Qilij Arslān, the ruler of (the Saljūq kingdom of) Rūm, and had routed it and taken many captives. The Sultan composed despatches to give the good news of his triumph over the Franks at Marj 'Uyūn⁴⁴ and of his brother's victory over the army of Rūm, and sent them to the various provinces. From all the chief towns there came to him poems of felicitation.

The Sultan then pondered the question of (the fortress at the ford) the House of Sorrows (Bayt-al-Aḥzān) and wrote to the Franks demanding that it be destroyed. They refused, whereupon he repeated his demand and they then asked for an indemnity from him. He was generous to them and even reached a figure of ten thousand *dīnārs*, but they would not

accept. The Sultan thereupon wrote to the Turcomans and the militia [*ajnād*] of these regions calling them to his standard; he also sent them money, horses, and tokens of honor. A vast host joined him. Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar left Ḥamāh and arrived at Damascus on the first of Rabī' al-Ākhir; the Sultan went forth to meet him.

The Sultan left Damascus on Thursday the fifth of the month [9th September, 1179] at the head of a mighty army and on Tuesday the eleventh encamped before the fortress of Bayt-al-Aḥzān. The fortress of Ṣafad belonged to the Templars, and the Sultan commanded that the vines of the villages attached to it should be cut. He laid siege to the fortress (of Bayt-al-Aḥzān) and breached the walls at several points. These gaps he filled with wood and set fire to them so that the fortress fell on the twenty-fourth [30th August, 1179] and the Sultan took possession of it, killing those within or taking them prisoner. A hundred Muslim prisoners were also found. A number of the Frankish prisoners were put to death and the rest were sent in chains to Damascus. The fortress was pulled down until it was level with the ground. Fourteen days the Sultan had spent at Bayt-al-Aḥzān and he then returned to Damascus. A number of his emirs and poets composed eulogies of him and felicitated him on the victory.

In the month of Ṣafar there appeared a wall, facing the Nilometer and in the middle of the Nile, in a cavity of which was the tomb and coffin of Joseph the Faithful. It had not been laid bare from the time that Moses—upon him be peace—had moved it there until this time. The water had drained from the bottom of the Nilometer, the sand fell away from it, and the tomb was revealed to men; but the greater number of them did not know what it was.

It was in this year that Jaldak al-Shihābī raised a revolt in the Oases. Al-'Ādil seized him through capitulation and sent him to Damascus. 'Izz-al-Dīn Farrukhshāh led a foray against Ṣafad, and on the fourteenth of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah slew, burned, and took prisoners on the outskirts of the town. He then returned to Damascus.

The Caliph al-Mustadi' bi-Amr-Illāh Abū-'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn al-Muqtaḍī bi-Amr-Illāh Muḥammad died on Friday, twelve

days of the month of Shawwāl having passed. His caliphate had lasted ten years less four months, and he was succeeded by his son Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn-illāh Abū-'l-'Abbās Aḥmad. As (this caliph's) ambassador to the (Ayyūbid) princes and to the Sultan, the Shaykh al-Shuyūkh [Sheik of Sheikhs] Ṣadr-al-Dīn 'Abd-al-Raḥīm Ismā'il set forth from Baghdad. Shihāb-al-Dīn Bashīr al-Khāṣṣ journeyed with him to Egypt, as shall presently be related. This year the Sultan had his son al-Malik al-'Azīz 'Uthmān circumcised, and delivered him to Ṣadr-al-Dīn ibn-al-Mujāwir as his tutor.

Death was widespread this year throughout Miṣr, Cairo, and all the provinces of Egypt, so that the air itself became foully charged. In Cairo and Miṣr alone seventeen thousand people died within a few days.

The Year 576 (A.H.)

[28th May, 1180–16th May, 1181]

This year the Sultan took the field against 'Izz-al-Dīn Qiliġ Arslān ibn-Mas'ūd ibn-Qiliġ Arslān, the ruler of Konya [Iconium], but returned to Damascus on the first of Rajab [21st November, 1180] without a battle. The Sultan Sayf-al-Dīn Ghāzī, son of the Sultan Quṭb-al-Dīn Mawdūd ibn-'Imād-al-Dīn ibn-Zangi ibn-Āqsunqur, lord of Mosul, died on the third of Ṣafar [29th June, 1180], and his brother 'Izz-al-Dīn Mas'ūd took his place.

The Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn wrote to the Caliph al-Nāṣir requesting an instrument of confirmation of his rule, and in Rajab the Sheikh of Sheikhs Ṣadr-al-Dīn Abū-'l-Qāsim 'Abd-al-Raḥīm arrived with Shihāb-al-Dīn Bashīr al-Khāṣṣ bearing diplomas of investiture and tokens of esteem. The Sultan went forth and dismounted when he met them, whereupon they also alighted and gave him the Caliph's greetings. He kissed the ground before them and returned to Damascus in the robes of honor. He despatched his response to the Caliph by the hand of Bashīr, sending with him Diyā'-al-Dīn al-Shahrzūrī. The Sultan himself left for Armenia to subdue its king, entered deep into that land, and brought its ruler to his obedience. He reached as far as Bahasnā⁴⁵ and then returned, after having burned and destroyed its citadel.

On the eighteenth of Rajab [7th December, 1180] the Sultan departed from Damascus for Egypt, taking with him the Sheikh of Sheikhs [Ṣadr-al-Dīn], and on the thirteenth of Sha'bān [2d January, 1181] he arrived at Cairo. The Sheikh of Sheikhs left by sea for Mecca and returned thence (by land) to Baghdad.

The *ḥafīẓ* Abū-'l-Ṭahir Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Silafah al-Salafī died on Friday the fifth of Rabī' al-Ākhir at Alexandria; he was about a hundred years of age. On the fifth of Ṣafar, also at Alexandria, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Shams-al-Dawlah Tūrānshāh ibn-Ayyūb ibn-Shādī ended his days and was carried to Damascus and there buried.

In this year a woman was born who brought forth black and white children. Low-level (of the Nile) was three cubits and twenty fingers, and high-level reached sixteen and two-thirds cubits.

The Year 577 (A.H.)

[17th May, 1181–6th May, 1182]

In Muḥarram of this year the command went forth that the produce of the Arabs of the eastern provinces should be seized and that they should be compelled to move to al-Buḥayrah. The seizure fell upon the fiefs of the tribes of Judhām and Tha'labah because they had conveyed much of their produce to Frankish lands. This year the mice multiplied among the vegetables and crops after the harvest so that great quantities of them were destroyed.

The Nile dried up so that it became but a ford and its waters withdrew from the banks of Maqs and Miṣr. Numerous islands of sand formed, and it was feared that all water would drain from the Nilometer and require a new one to be built. The water withdrew from the walls of Maqs, and the main stream now followed on the western side.

The Sultan went into camp at Birkat al-Jubb for the chase and to play ball; he returned after six days. News then came that the Prince Arnāṭ [Reynaud or Reginald], ruler of the Franks at Karak, had mustered his forces and purposed to march on 'Taymā' and then enter the city of the Prophet [Medina].

‘Izz-al-Dīn Farrukhshāh went forth from Damascus with his troops and came to Karak, where he plundered and burned, returning then to Muslim regions where he dwelt. From the governor of the fortress of Aylah came news of their great apprehension of an attack by the Franks.

In Ṣafar [16th June–14th July, 1181] the envoy of the Emperor of Constantinople arrived in Cairo and peace with its sovereign was concluded. In Jumādā al-Ākhirah, 180 Muslim prisoners were released (by the Greek Emperor).

Ṣārim-al-Dīn Khuṭlubā went to al-Fayyūm, of which he had been made governor and which was allocated as his special perquisite, and took its produce from it. He was then relieved of the governorship of al-Fayyūm, and Ibn-Shams-al-Khilāfah took his place. Khuṭluba was brought (to Cairo) in order that he might go to the Yemen.

Written instructions went to Damietta concerning the fighting arrangements at the two towers; they required to join the chain-bearing vessels and to place them in position for fighting upon them and thus preventing passage between the two towers.

In the month of Rabī‘ al-Awwal [15th July–13th August, 1181] the Franks made a night foray upon the coast of Tinnīs and seized a trading ship. From Damietta came ships called for from the fifty sail (at that port) in order to protect the coast of Egypt. The construction of the small fort at Suez to hold twenty cavalry was completed, and horsemen were assigned to it to guard the road from upper Egypt by which alum was brought to Frankish countries. Orders were given to build the fortress of Tinnīs.

Yellow amber merchants arrived this year from Aden, and four years *zakāh* was demanded of them. Beer-houses had multiplied in Alexandria and 120 of them were demolished. The Nile’s high water was reached on the twenty-first of the month of Rabī‘ al-Awwal, with the overflow [*wafā’*]⁴⁶ coming on the seventeenth of that month. The overflow came to Miṣr on the twenty-sixth, which corresponded with the sixteenth of the (Coptic) month of Misra [about the 24th of August]. Never in earlier times had the overflow been known at this date. At the beginning of the month the Sultan rode to take the measure of

the Nilometer, and at its end he invested Ibn-Abū-'l-Raddād with a robe of honor. The dykes of the canal were cut on the fourth of Rabī' al-Ākhir in the presence of the governor of Cairo, the level of the water being fifteen fingers short of seventeen cubits.

Also at this time the Sultan levied the unemployed troops⁴⁷ and despatched them to the frontiers. He also levied the crews of the galleys [*shawānī*] and sent them on raids.

It was learned that this year many twins were born to both man and beast, far exceeding the expected limit. The gazelles of the desert all had twins, and women likewise brought forth more twins than single children while more birds of the air were seen than ever before.

At this time the wife of al-Ṣāliḥ ibn-Ruzzīk died, being old and weak and blind, after all the affluence and power she had enjoyed.

On the first of the month of Jumāda al-Ulā [12th September, 1181] the Sultan rode forth to open the canal of Abū-'l-Manajā. He returned to the Citadel of the Mount, whence he rode to his encampment at Birkat (al-Jubb). The converted Muslim, the Emir Ṣārim-al-Dīn Khuṭluba, departed for the Yemen. The Sultan labored night and day in the organization of the militia [*ajnād*]. He took away two-thirds of the fiefs belonging to the nomadic Arabs (in Egypt) and therewith compensated the fief-holders of al-Fayyūm, all of whose districts came to him. In the same year, the *Dīwān* of the Fleet was organized; its finances included the revenue of al-Fayyūm, the Juyūshi endowments,⁴⁸ the land-taxes, and natron.⁴⁹ The tax on all these was farmed out for eight thousand *dīnārs*. Five hundred *dīnārs* were allotted for the repair of the walls of the two towers at Damietta and for attention to the chain that lay between them. An estimate was made of the sum required to restore the walls of Tinnīs to their former state, and this came to three thousand *dīnārs*. Instructions were written to Qūṣ to abolish the tax demanded of pilgrims and Yememite merchants.

From Ibrāhīm, the Master of Armory, who was then in the Maghrib, came tidings that he had conquered the country of (the tribe of) Hawwārah, (the town of) Zawāwah, the tribe of Lawātah, Mount Nafūṣah, and (the city of) Ghadāmis and all

its districts twenty-five days' march distant from it north and south. He reported that he had included the Sultan's name in the *khutbah* from the pulpits of these lands and had struck a coinage in his name. He added that, should the Sultan be pleased to reinforce him, he would achieve distant targets and despatch great sums of money.

Four light ships⁵⁰ were built in the shipyard at Miṣr⁵¹ for transport of troops to the Yemen, and officers were assigned to the army leaving for the Yemen. In the sea around Tinnīs many attacks upon ships by Bedouins occurred; light ships there were employed against them but they failed to overcome these ships because they withdrew and hid among the sea weeds.

During the month of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [12th October–9th November, 1181] the Franks cut the greater part of the palm-trees at al-'Arīsh and carried them off to their country. Ships containing food and fodder were despatched to the Yemen, and the governors of the western and eastern parts (of Egypt) were instructed to apply themselves with the greatest assiduity to the repair of the dykes. To the same end a letter was sent to the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Nashr-al-Mulk ibn-Farḥūn, governor of the Buḥayrah and its dependent provinces.

In Rajab the strength of the militia [*ajnād*] was settled at 8,640, the commanders of regiments⁵² at eleven, the junior officers [*tawāshi*]⁵³ at 6,976, and the military police⁵⁴ at 1,553. The budget for these troops was fixed at 3,670,500 *dīnārs*. This did not include those troops deprived of their fiefs or salaries, and those Bedouins possessing fiefs in the east and the Buḥayrah, as well as the Kinānīyah and the Muḍarīyah,⁵⁵ the jurists, the judges, the Ṣūfis, and the *dīwāns*, which did not fall short of one million *dīnārs*.

Prince Arnāṭ [Reynaud de Chatillon] arrived at Aylah and marched his troops to Tabūk. In Sha'bān the rain at Aylah was so heavy that its fortress collapsed. Building the walls of Damietta was begun, their length being 4,630 cubits. The building of a tower there was also begun.

In Shawwāl, Mankūris al-Asadī, one of the Mameluke emirs, died, and his fief was taken by Yāzkuj al-Asadī. Sayf-al-Dawlah Mubārak ibn-Munqidh ibn-Kāmil al-Kinānī, lieutenant [*nā'ib*] of Shams-al-Dawlah in the Yemen, was arrested and eighty

thousand *dīnārs* were confiscated from him, after which he was released. Khuṭlubā, governor of Miṣr, left for Zābid to assume that office there, taking with him five hundred men, including the Emir Bākhil. The disbursement for these men was twenty thousand *dīnārs*. To each of the officers [*ṭawāshi*] a note for ten *dīnārs* payable in the Yemen was given, if they were in fief. To the unemployed troops⁵⁶ and foot soldiers thirty-three *dīnārs* were paid monthly. The light ships [*ḥarārīq*], five in number, were despatched, bearing the lancers.

On the seventeenth of this month [23rd February, 1182] the Sultan left for Alexandria, which he entered on the twenty-fifth. On Thursday, the day following his arrival, he attended a lecture on *al-Muwatṭa'*⁵⁷ by the jurisprudent Abū-'l-Ṭāhir ibn-'Awf. He erected in this city a hospital and a hospice for men from the Maghrib as well as a school beside the tomb of al-Mu'azzam Tūrānshāh. He began to repair the canal and moved its outlet to another place. He left Alexandria for Damietta on the first of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah [8th March, 1182], returning to Cairo on the seventh.

On the ninth, he ordered the opening of the Ṣalāḥī hospital, and allotted for its maintenance a monthly sum of two hundred *dīnārs* from the rents of the Dīwān properties, as well as an income from the crops of al-Fayyūm. He also employed doctors and others for the place.

On the eleventh the Sultan removed to Birkat al-Jubb to review the troops who were departing for Syria. Al-Malik al-'Ādil came out to the tents on the thirteenth and himself encamped in the vicinity (of Birkat al-Jubb). The accounts of the governors of Miṣr and Cairo, and the accounts of al-Fayyūm and of upper Egypt, were waived. Mangonels were sent to the camp for the purpose of the campaign.

On the eleventh, Sayf-al-Islām (Ṭughtikīn, brother of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) went to Ikhmīm to collect the tribute (from the Christians and Jews) and to examine the question of the sulphate of iron. The governor of Qūṣ seized two men from Isna⁵⁸ for preaching a hidden doctrine. On the twenty-third [30th March, 1182], marriage was celebrated between the daughters of al-'Ādil and the sons of the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, namely Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Ghāzī Muẓaffar-al-Dīn Khidr, Najm-al-Dīn Mas'ūd, and

Sharaf-al-Dīn Ya'qūb. The dowry in each contract was for twenty thousand *dīnārs*. The Sultan concluded a truce with an envoy of the Count who was ruler of the Franks in Tripoli. It was proclaimed that no Jews or Christians should ride horses or mules, not excepting a physician or court secretary.⁵⁹

On Friday the twenty-fifth of Rajab [4th December, 1181], al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Mujīr-al-Dīn Isma'īl ibn-al-'Ādil Nūr-al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn-Zangī ibn-Āqsunqur, the atabeg and ruler of Aleppo, died and was succeeded by his cousin the Sultan 'Izz-al-Dīn Mas'ūd ibn-Mawdūd ibn-Zangī. The death of al-Ṣāliḥ set the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn upon the march; and he addressed letters to his nephew al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn 'Umar, lord of Ḥamāh, and to others of his lieutenants, that they should make ready [to join him]. To the Caliph al-Nāṣir he wrote asking for the governorship of Aleppo.

The Year 578 (A.H.)

[7th May, 1182–25 April, 1183]

The New Year began when the Sultan had gone forth to the outskirts of Cairo, and the people had come out to bid him farewell and many learned and eminent men had congregated to recite the customary valedictory verses. One of the tutors of the Sultan's sons stuck out his head from a tent and declaimed:

Enjoy the scent of the camomiles of Najd,
For after the evening they are no more.

Those present took this as an ill-omen, and their forebodings were right, for the Sultan left the outskirts of Cairo on the fifth of Muḥarram [11th May, 1182] of this year and never again returned to Cairo. He took his way to Aylah and then invaded Frankish territories, aiming for Karak. He despatched his brother Tāj-al-Mulūk with the army to al-Darb [Iconium]. 'Izz-al-Dīn Farrukhshāh sallied forth from Damascus and raided Tiberias and Acre. He took (the fortress of) Shaqīf [Beaufort], and, leaving there a Muslim garrison, returned with a thousand prisoners and twenty thousand head of sheep.

At Damietta the wind drove a Frankish ship [*butṣah*] upon

the coast and 1,690 men were taken prisoner in addition to those drowned.

The Sultan entered Damascus thirteen days before the end of Ṣafar [22nd June, 1182]. He tarried there a little and then ravaged Tiberias. There was severe fighting with the Franks beneath the fortress of Kawkab [Belvoir] and a number of Muslims suffered martyrdom. The Sultan returned to Damascus on the fourteenth of Rabī' al-Awwal [18th July, 1182] and then went into camp at (Wādī) al-Fawwār, a part of the Ḥawrān, and remained there until he moved against Aleppo.

After the Sultan had left Cairo, Sayf-al-Islām Ṣahīr-al-Dīn Ṭughtikīn ibn-Ayyūb ibn-Shādi set out from the city for the Yemen. He came to Zabīd and conquered it, seizing booty to the value of a million *dīnārs*. He also took possession of Aden.

The Sultan moved from Damascus to Aleppo and, coming to that city on Sunday, the eighteenth of Jumādā al-Ulā [19th September, 1182], engaged it for three days. He then removed to the Euphrates and camped to the west of al-Bīrah, where he laid a bridge. He wrote to the kings of the surrounding regions and then marched on al-Ruhā' [Edessa], which he seized. Thence he moved to Ḥarrān and set it in order before leaving to al-Raqqah, which he conquered, together with its surrounding lands. He then laid siege to Nisibis and its citadel until it fell to him.

Word then came that the Franks were advancing on Damascus and that they were pillaging the villages about it. The Sultan marched to Mosul and invested it on Thursday the eleventh of Rajab [10th November, 1182], but although he pressed the attack he could not achieve his purpose. He thereupon removed to Sinjār, which he began to besiege and constrain on Wednesday the twenty-sixth of Sha'bān [25th December, 1182]. When (the fasting month of) Ramaḍān began he refrained from fighting and then, on Thursday the second of this month [30th December], Sinjār capitulated. The Sultan committed it to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn ('Umar, his nephew), and himself removed to Nisibis, where he remained because of the severe cold. He later left for Ḥarrān, moving thence to Āmid, where he encamped thirteen days before the end of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah [14th April, 1183].

In this year the Franks invaded the Hejaz. Prince Arnāt [Reynaud de Chatillon], lord of Karak, constructed some ships and carried them overland to the Red Sea. He embarked troops on them, left two of them to watch the citadel of Aylah⁶⁰ and prevent its garrison from obtaining water, and sailed with the remainder to 'Aydhāb. They killed and took prisoners in the Red Sea, and burned about sixteen ships. At 'Aydhāb they seized a ship that had come from Jiddah with pilgrims. Between Qūṣ and 'Aydhāb they captured a large caravan of pilgrims and put them to death. They caught two ships bringing merchandise from the Yemen, and laid hands on a large quantity of victuals that lay upon the shores of the Red Sea and had been prepared as provisions for the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. They committed deeds such as never before had been heard of in Islam. No Christian [Rūmi] had ever before them reached these parts, for only a day's journey lay between them and Medina. They had come to the Hejaz with the aim of gaining Medina.

Al-Malik al-'Ādil, who governed in the Sultan's name at Cairo, despatched the chamberlain Ḥusām-al-Dīn Lu'lu' to the Red Sea. Ḥusām equipped ships at Miṣr and Alexandria and then sailed to Aylah, where he overcame the Frankish vessels, burned them, and took those within them prisoners. After this he sailed to 'Aydhāb in pursuit of the Frankish squadron, which he overtook and defeated after several days. He liberated the Muslim merchants, who were imprisoned in them and restored to them the goods that had been taken from them. He then disembarked and rode horses belonging to the Bedouins until he overtook those Franks who had fled, and took them prisoner. Two of them were sent to Minā and sacrificed as cattle are sacrificed. Ḥusām al-Dīn returned to Cairo with the prisoners in Dhū-'l-Hijjah; they were all beheaded.

(From the Mediterranean Sea) the (Muslim) fleet returned after inflicting punishment on the inhabitants of the (eastern) islands of that sea and bringing with it a Frankish ship that had been bound for Acre carrying wood, provisions, and seventy men.

On the first of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [2nd October, 1182] 'Izz-al-Dīn Farrukhshāh, who bore the title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr,

died at Damascus. The shaykh and ascetic Rūzbihār ibn-Abū-Bakr ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Fārisi the Ṣūfī died on Wednesday the fifth of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah and was buried at Qarāfah in Miṣr.

The dynasty of the House of Subuktigīn⁶¹ came to an end this year. It had begun in 366 [A.H.] and had ruled for 213 years. The first of its rulers was Maḥmūd the son of Subuktigīn and its last was Khusrūshāh ibn-Bahrām ibn-Shāh ibn-Mas'ūd ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Mas'ūd ibn-Maḥmūd ibn-Subuktigīn. It was succeeded by the Ghūrid dynasty.

There came news this year that the waters between the Straits of Ceuta [i.e. of Gibraltar] had fallen so low that a causeway, over which men had passed from ancient times until the sea had swallowed it, had come within view again. The sea had dropped so low that only two fathoms of water remained above this causeway and men could see the traces of its foundations and that a vessel had foundered upon it.

The Year 579 (A.H.)

[26th April, 1183–13th April, 1184]

The advent of this year found the Sultan at Āmid [Diyār Bakr] of which he took possession in the early days of Muḥarram. From the rulers of the surrounding lands came ambassadors seeking his good-will. The Franks marched, pillaging upon the districts of al-Dārūm.⁶² A number of Muslims gave them battle on the road to Ṣadr and Aylah; and God gave them the victory whereby they slew and took booty and then returned in safety to their homes.

In this year too the fleet sailed from Miṣr and captured a ship [*buṭṣah*] containing 375 unbelievers, returning with them to Cairo on the fifth of Muḥarram.

Sa'd-al-Dīn Kamshabah (al-Asadī) and 'Alam-al-Dīn Qayṣar marched to al-Dārūm and fell upon the Franks near the sea and killed them all, bringing their heads to Cairo on the twenty-fourth of Muḥarram [20th May, 1183].

The Sultan removed from Āmid and crossed the Euphrates, bound for Aleppo. On his way he seized 'Ayn Tāb and other places and came to Aleppo at daybreak on Saturday the twenty-

sixth of Muḥarram [22d May, 1183]. The Sultan 'Imād-al-Dīn Zangī ibn-Mas'ūd ibn-Zangī had destroyed its citadel in the month of Jumādā 578 [A.H.]. Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn took the city by capitulation on Saturday the eighteenth of Ṣafar [12th June, 1183], on condition that 'Imād-al-Dīn should receive Sinjār.

Tāj-al-Mulūk Būrī ibn-Ayyūb ibn-Shādi died on Thursday the twenty-third of this month at Aleppo, and 'Imād-al-Dīn departed for Sinjār. To the qādīship of Aleppo the Sultan appointed Muḥyi-'l-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-Zakī 'Alī al-Qurashī, who was qādī of Damascus, and he named Zayn-al-Dīn Nidā' ibn-al-Faḍl ibn-Sulaymān al-Bānyāsī as his lieutenant there. The command of its citadel he gave to Yāzkuj, and he installed his son al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Ghāzī as its king.

The Sultan departed from Aleppo eight days before the end of Rabī' al-Ākhir [14th August, 1183], and on the third of Jumādā al-Ulā [24th August] he entered Damascus. There he tarried until the twenty-seventh [17th September], when he took the field again and advanced on Baysān. He crossed the Jordan on the ninth of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [29th September] and attacked Baysān, burning and looting it. He did this to several fortresses, and fell upon many Franks. A considerable host of the Franks had assembled at 'Ayn Jālūt⁶³ and then moved on, but the Sultan captured a great number of them. He demolished the castles of Baysān, 'Afrabalā,⁶⁴ and Zir'in,⁶⁵ while he destroyed ten small fortresses and villages. He returned to Damascus six days from the end of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [13th October, 1183].

On Saturday the third of Rajab [22nd October] the Sultan marched to Karak, which he besieged in vain for a time before returning to Damascus. His brother, al-Malik al-'Ādil had joined him on the fourth of Sha'bān [22nd November] from Miṣr, bringing with him the Egyptian army; and the Sultan had met his brother before Karak. On the Thursday the fifteenth of the month [3d December] al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn left Karak for Egypt to replace al-'Ādil. He preserved to al-'Ādil his Egyptian fiefs, which brought him seven hundred thousand *dīnārs* a year. And so al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn 'Umar ibn-Shāhanshāh ibn-Ayyūb was sent to Egypt, and with him went the Qādī al-Fāḍil. The Sultan bestowed on

Taqī-al-Dīn Fayyūm and its dependent provinces together with the villages of al-Qāyāt and Būsh, and left to him the city of Hamāh and its dependencies.

The Sultan arrived at Damascus eight days from the end of Ramaḍān [9th January, 1184]. He had sent al-Malik al-‘Ādil to Aleppo on the second of Ramaḍān [19th December, 1183]. Al-Zāhir presented himself to his father at Damascus, accompanied by Yāzkuj. The Sheik of Sheikhs Ṣadr-al-Dīn, sent by the Caliph al-Nāṣir, came in company with Shihāb-al-Dīn Bashīr to make peace between the Sultan and ‘Izz-al-Dīn, lord of Mosul. They were accompanied by the Qāḍi Muḥyi-al-Dīn Abū-Hāmid ibn-Kamāl-al-Dīn al-Shahrzūrī and Bahā’al-Dīn ibn-Shaddād. They stayed some days, and then returned without achieving their objective on the seventh of Dhū’l-Hijjah.

This year, in the village of Būṣir, the temple of Hermes was uncovered and from it various objects were removed, including (images of) rams, monkeys, and frogs in bāzahr⁶⁶ and malachite, as well as idols of brass.

Sharaf-al-Dīn Barghush was slain this year at Karak on the twenty-second of Rajab and his body was carried to Zura⁶⁷ and there buried in the tomb he had already prepared.

In this year of 579 hailstones big as goose eggs fell on the maritime parts of Egypt, destroying all cultivated things they struck, ruining the crops, and killing many domestic animals and men.

The Year 580 (A.H.)

[14th April, 1184–3rd April, 1185]

On the fifth of Muḥarram [18th April, 1184] a caravan carrying crops, weapons, and horses was despatched to the fortresses of Aylah and Ṣadr. A body of troops moved out from Eastern Egypt under its governor Qayṣar to protect the caravan, and they brought it to Aylah and Ṣadr before they returned on the twenty-fifth. The enemy had attacked these fortresses and retired.

At the beginning of the New Year the Sultan was at Damascus. He sent to the surrounding regions demanding troops; and his nephew Taqī-al-Dīn came to him with the Egyptian

army, accompanied by al-Qāḍi al-Fāḍil. The Sultan set forth from Damascus on Tuesday the middle day of the month of Rabī' al-Awwal [26th June, 1184] and came to Jisr al-Khashab, while al-Malik al-'Ādil, accompanied by Nūr-al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, left Aleppo and on Thursday the twenty-fourth [5th July, 1184] came to Damascus, whence they moved to al-Kuswah. On the second of Rabī' al-Ākhir [13th July, 1184] the Sultan removed from Ra's al-Mā' and marched to Karak. Taqī-al-Dīn, together with the children and family of al-Malik al-'Ādil, left with the Egyptian army on Wednesday the first of the month and marched to Aylah. They joined the Sultan before Karak on the nineteenth [30th July, 1184]. Al-'Ādil's children left on the twenty-first and met their father on the twenty-fifth at al-Fawwār. With them came a party of men and, joining with their father, they moved on to Aleppo accompanied by Baktash ibn-'Ayn-al-Dawlah al-Yārūqi and 'Ali ibn-Sulaymān ibn-Jandar.

The Army of Aleppo came to camp at Amman, capital of al-Balqā', on the eighth of Jumādā al-Ulā [17th August, 1184]; on the twelfth it moved to Karak. Al-'Ādil and (Nūr-al-Dīn) ibn-Qarā Arslān reached Karak on the nineteenth. It took until the night of Thursday the twenty-fifth [3 September, 1184] to set up the mangonels, and that night they were discharged against the fortress. Then came reports that the Franks were mustering, whereupon the whole army moved to al-Lajjūn.⁶⁸ The Franks encamped at al-Wālih.⁶⁹ The army then marched to the Balqā' district and encamped at Ḥasbān, facing the Franks, until midday on Monday the twenty-sixth.

The Franks moved to Karak and the army pursued them as far as Nablus. This town the army assaulted on Friday the last day of the month [8th September], and burned and sacked it. The Muslims went on to capture four fortresses. They then invested Jīnīn and sapped its citadel until it crumbled, a number of sappers being killed beneath it. The troops then took it by assault and seized great booty. They moved by night to Zir'in and ('Ayn) Jālūt and burned them in the night. On Sunday the second of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [10th September] they crossed the Jordan and on the fourth encamped at al-Fawwār.

The Sultan entered Damascus with all his troops on Saturday the seventh of the month [15th September, 1184]. His

brother al-ʿĀdil joined him from Aleppo, and the armies of the eastern provinces as well as troops from Ḥisn (Kayfa)⁷⁰ and from Āmid rallied to his standard. At their head he marched upon Karak to wrest it from the Franks. He began its siege on the fourteenth of Jumādā al-Ulā, setting up nine mangonels with which he bombarded it. But the Franks received reinforcements, whereupon the Sultan removed to Nablus, sacking every place he passed. He burned Nablus, sacking and destroying it, slaying its citizens, and carrying off captives, while he delivered a number of Muslims who were prisoners within it. He next marched to Jīnīn and thence returned to Damascus.⁷¹

Here he received envoys from the Caliph: Shaykh Ṣadr-al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn-Ismāʿīl ibn-Abū-Saʿd Aḥmad and (Shihāb-al-Dīn) Bashīr the eunuch [*khādim*]. They brought robes of honor for the Sultan and al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, and these princes donned them. The envoys desired that peace be made between the Sultan and ʿIzz-al-Dīnn, lord of Mosul, but such did not come to pass and they left Damascus, but died before reaching Baghdad.

The Sultan gave robes of honor to all his soldiery, and, after bestowing much upon them, allowed them to return to their own lands, and they departed. In the middle of the month of Shaʿbān Muḥarrar Taqī-al-Dīn set forth with the Egyptian army for Cairo [21st November, 1184].

This year the Sultan made known his testament. By this he granted the sovereignty of Egypt to his son al-Malik al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān under the tutelage of his cousin Taqī-al-Dīn ʿUmar; dominion over Syria he bequeathed to (his eldest son) al-Malik al-Afdal under the tutelage of that prince's uncle al-ʿĀdil, lord of Aleppo. The period of tutelage (or regency) was to last until the Muslims should observe that each youth had grown competent to rule, whereupon the guardians might be content with the revenues that they already possessed. Should one of the youths die, the most competent of his brothers would take his place, and if it were one of the guardians who died the other would assume his duties. Those Emirs who were present were sworn to respect the testament and the reading of the oath to that effect was undertaken by the Qāḍi al-Murtaḍā ibn-Quraysh.

At the city of al-Bahnassā,⁷² *hilāli* tax,⁷³ amounting to one

thousand *dīnārs*, was this year remitted, as was the tax on straw, which was not less than two thousand *dīnārs*. The farming of the revenues due from beer, wine, and public entertainment was prohibited, and the income that came to the Sultan from them throughout Egypt was foregone.

The Sultan left Damascus for the eastern provinces, but coming to Ḥamāh on the twentieth of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah [22nd February, 1185] he stayed there for the remainder of the year.

On the seventh of Muḥarram in this year, the *khutbah* was delivered beside the tomb of Sāriyah at the foot of the hill, where there were neither dwellings nor inhabitants.⁷⁴ This was done by a number of bigots. Then a mosque was erected at the vaulted tomb of Mūsak. The tomb itself stood for years.

The Nile reached a level of nineteen cubits less thirteen fingers. This caused much harm to the villages of the region because their inhabitants were driven from them by the collapse of the walls of their houses; orchards and sugar plantations were swamped, wells overflowed, and irrigation canals were broken. Great indeed was the damage, as happened in the year 454.

This year the ruler of the Maghrib, the Sultan Abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn-'Abd al-Mu'min ibn-'Ali, died seven days before the end of the month of Rajab [31st October, 1184]. In Jumādā al-Ākhirah, Īlghāzi (ibn-Najm-al-Dīn) ibn-Alba ibn-Tamurtāsh ibn-Īlghāzi ibn-Urtuq al-Urtuqi Quṭb-al-Dīn, lord of Māridīn,⁷⁵ died. Āqsunqur al-Sāqī [the Cup bearer], son-in-law of Qarājā al-Humām, died at Aleppo on Friday the eleventh of Rajab.

In this year the Sultan enjoined that the children and remaining kinsmen of the (Fāṭimid) Caliph al-'Āḍid should be put in chains.

*(Supplement of the Events of 580)*⁷⁶

On Monday the first of Muḥarram [14th April, 1184] instruction began at the Fāḍiliyah College, which stood on the Malukhiya road leading from Cairo. On the fifth, the caravan with the horses destined for the citadels of Ṣadr and Aylah left under the control of Qayṣar, the governor of Eastern Egypt. On the seventh the *khutbah* was delivered by the tomb of Sāriyah at

the foot of the hill, where there were no dwellings and no inhabitants. On the eighth letters came from the Sultan in Damascus calling for the army and the collection of money, weapons, and provisions. On the eleventh there was a disturbance among the Judhām Bedouins. Troops left for the eastern district of Egypt. Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar crossed to al-Jīzah with his sons to attend a party given by the *ṭawāshi* Qarāqūsh at the Ṭurah Canal; he returned the next day.

On the eighteenth [2nd May, 1184] letters came from the Sultan in Damascus summoning the army to raid Karak and requiring as many foot-soldiers as possible to accompany it. Tents were brought to Birkat al-Jubb on the twentieth, and on the next day al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn, viceroy of Egypt, set forth.

On the twenty-eighth news came from the prefect [*nāẓir*]⁷⁷ of Qūṣ of the sinking of four ships bearing thirteen hundred pilgrims all of whom perished. On the twenty-fifth Qayṣar, governor of Eastern Egypt, returned from Ṣadr after conducting the caravan to Aylah. He came back with the returning caravan which the enemy had attacked but then had withdrawn. At the end of the month came the report that al-Mu'ayyad Sayf-al-Islām had conquered the Yemen and had imprisoned Khaṭṭāb ibn-Munqidh at Zabīd.

On the fourth of Ṣafar came tidings of the arrival of the coffins of Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb and Asad-al-Dīn Shīrkūh at Medina and of their burial there. They had been borne to Qūṣ and then carried across the sea to Medina. They had commenced their journey at the beginning of the past year.

On the sixth of Ṣafar the fleet, comprising thirty-one galleys and light ships, weighed anchor. On the seventh a dissension occurred between the Ash'ārites and the Ḥanbalis on account of the Ḥanbalis' disapproval of some words spoken during a disquisition by Shihāb-al-Ṭūsī. They brought the matter to the attention of al-Muẓaffar in his tent (at Birkat al-Jubb) and he decreed that the chairs of discourse of both parties be removed, since each had abused the other.

On the eighth there was heavy rain, roaring thunder, a violent wind, blinding lightning, and a mass of great hailstones. The encamped soldiery were much afflicted, fruits rotted, trees

were split, the date-palms were uprooted, and disaster visited all fruits and crops, the unreaped and the reaped, while the cucumbers were ruined.

On the tenth a committee of the heads of the *Dīwāns* sat (to adjudicate the merits of) Ibn-Shukr and Ibn-‘Uthmān. Ibn-‘Uthmān took over the *Dīwāns* after giving his written surety for more than fifteen thousand *dīnārs* above the estimated income (of the *Dīwāns*). Ibn-Shukr was dismissed on the thirteenth.

The month of Rabī‘ al-Awwal then came and on the twelfth [23rd June, 1184] al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn moved from Birkat al-Jubb to join the Sultan at Damascus. Ibn-al-Salār returned to Cairo to act as deputy for al-Muẓaffar. Ibn Shukr, Inspector (*Nāẓir*) of the *Dīwāns*, returned (to Cairo) on the fifteenth, with the son of al-Muẓaffar, and the citizens went forth to meet him.

On the twentieth of Rabī‘ al-Ākhir [31st July, 1184] al-Muẓaffar joined the Sultan near Karak.

On the tenth of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [18th September, 1184] the inhabitants of Bilbīs abandoned their town in a single night, having heard of the march of the Franks upon Fāqūs. In Cairo, Miṣr, and al-Jizah men were much agitated, and a false exodus was sounded. Word arrived that Sayf-al-Islām had killed Khaṭṭāb ibn-Munqidh and had taken his place, seizing all his wealth in the Yemen and arresting his associates. After the exodus, the army left for Bilbīs, and the young men [*ghil-mān*] looted it. The Franks captured about 220 prisoners and drove away those flocks that could not be enclosed.

On the twenty-fourth of Sha‘bān [30th November, 1184] al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn arrived at Cairo with his troops after a vigorous pursuit of them on their way. In Dhū-l-Qa‘dah a letter arrived from Sayf-al-Islām announcing that he had vanquished 173 fortresses in the Yemen. The family of Khaṭṭāb ibn-Munqidh and of his brother Muḥammad were brought to Egypt. Saladin’s nephew Taqī-al-Dīn departed for al-Buḥayrah to examine affairs there. With him was his secretary, al-Riḍā ibn-Salāmāh, who collected the accounts from the *Dīwāns*. He left with them on a mule in the company of Taqī-al-Dīn, but God hurled a thunderbolt from the sky that burned the mule and the accounts it carried. Taqī-al-Dīn returned.

The Year 581 (A.H.)

[4th April, 1185–23rd March, 1186]

The Sultan left Damascus and reached Ḥarrān on Friday the twenty-eighth of Ṣafar [31st May, 1186]. He overcame the city and took its ruler Muẓaffar-al-Dīn Kūkuburī prisoner. On the second of Rabī' al-Awwal [3rd June] he moved on. Then envoys from al-Malik Qilij Arslān ibn-Mas'ūd, ruler of Konia, came to him, declaring that, upon agreement with all the kings of Mesopotamia [al-Sharq], they would attack him if he did not hold back from Mosul and Maridin. Nevertheless the Sultan marched on toward Mosul and wrote to the Caliph of his intent to besiege it. He came then to the city and besieged and assailed it, but news arrived of the death of the Shāh-i-Arman, ibn-Suqmān [the II], lord of Khilāt, on the ninth of Rabī' al-Awwal. At the end of the month [1st July], therefore, Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn marched to Khilāt but could not conquer it and so turned back. He came to Mayyāfāriqīn and took it, returning thence to Mosul. He encamped on the banks of the Tigris during Sha'bān [28th October–25th November] and remained there until Ramaḍān. He then fell so grievously sick that he was given up.

At the end of Ramaḍān [25th December, 1185] he removed to Ḥarrān, and there, on the Day of 'Arafah, he signed the peace with the people of Mosul. The *khutbah* was delivered in his name throughout the territories of Mosul, and that for the Saljūqs was suppressed. In Diyār-Bakr and in all the Urtuqid lands he was prayed for in the *khutbah* and the coins were struck in his name. He ordained that through the length and breadth of the empire alms should be given.

On Tuesday the seventh of Rabī' al-Awwal an earthquake occurred in Egypt, and at the same hour there was another in Baalbek. In Alexandria on that day there was a riot among the common people in which they looted the Rūmī ships. A number of them were arrested as an example.

In this year, on the night of the Feast of Sacrifice ['Id al-Aḍḥa] al-Malik al-Qāhir Nāṣir-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-Asad-al-Dīn Shīrkūh, ruler of Ḥims, died. The Sultan was suspected of having poisoned him, for when the Sultan's sickness had been at its height, the prince of Ḥims had declared that he would

succeed him. This year also died Fakhr-al-Dawlah Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Naṣr al-Aswānī, nephew of al-Rashīd and al-Muhadhdhab, the sons of al-Zubayr; he was the first to conduct the diplomatic correspondence⁷⁸ for the Sultan and then for his brother al-ʿĀdil. Saʿd-al-Dīn ibn-Masʿūd ibn-Maʿīn-al-Dīn died at Āmid. The Emir Mālik ibn-Yārūq died at Manbij on the night of Saturday the first of Rajab and was carried to Aleppo and there buried. Āminah Khatūn, daughter of Maʿīn-al-Dīn (Anār), whom the Sultan (Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn) married after Nūr-al-Dīn Maḥmūd when he took Damascus, died on Monday the third of Dhū-l-Qaʿdah.

This year al-Muẓaffar (Taqī-al-Dīn) visited Alexandria to examine its affairs. Construction of a stone wall around the city of Miṣr was begun, and there was no poor or needy man who did not pace its open spaces from the al-Ṣafā road to the Mashhad al-Nafīsi. Constructions were continuous from the line of the canal to the Malūkhiya road leading by Miṣr, even between the Two Piles and about the Mosque of Ibn-Ṭūlūn and the Column.⁷⁹ More than five thousand dwellings [lit. places] were built, of clay, dung, and earth; and the citizens moved in the direction of the Mosque of Ibn-Ṭūlūn and the Pool and the vicinity of the Citadel [from Fustāṭ].

In Shaʿbān and Ramaḍān the plague struck Egypt and sudden death was widespread. The plague also raged among fowl.

The Year 582 (A.H.)

[24th March, 1186–12th March 1187]

By the beginning of this year the Sultan had recovered from his illness. He left Harrān and came to Aleppo on the fourteenth of Muḥarram [6th April, 1186]. Thence he moved to Ḥimṣ and put its affairs in order and abolished the toll-dues levied in it.⁸⁰

On the second of Rabīʿ al-Awwal [23rd May, 1186] the Sultan entered Damascus and called his son al-Afdal to him from Egypt because of a quarrel between this prince and his cousin al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn. Al-Afdal arrived with his family and household seven days from the end of Jumādā al-Ulā. Aleppo was taken from al-ʿĀdil in whose place al-Malik al-Ẓābir Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Ghāzī, the Sultan's son, was established. In compensation al-ʿĀdil was granted the eastern parts of Egypt.

Al Muṣaffar Taqī-al-Dīn ‘Umar was dismissed from the vice-royalty of Egypt. Greatly enraged, he crossed to al-Jīzah with his officers to join his lieutenant Sharaf-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh al-Taḡawī and conquer the Maghrib. He sent his mameluke Būrī ahead of him. News of this reached the Sultan who wrote to al-Muṣaffar commanding him to come to him. The chief men around this prince explained the impropriety of troubling the Sultan to him and bade him be prudent. He concurred and left for Damascus, where he arrived on the twenty-third of Sha‘bān. He retained his possessions of Ḥamāh, al-Ma‘arraḥ, and Manbij, to which the Sultan added Mayyāfāriqīn. Al-Muṣaffar wrote to his officers to come to him from Egypt; all came save Zayn-al-Dīn Būrī, his mameluke, who marched upon the Maghrib and conquered many places. The ruler of the Maghrib then advanced upon him and captured him, but later released him and gave him posts of preferment in his service.

Al-Afdal ‘Ali, the Sultan’s son, reached Damascus from Cairo on Thursday the seventeenth of Jumādā al-Ulā; it was his first visit to this city. Al-Malik al-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān left to assume the rule of Egypt, accompanied by his uncle al-‘Ādil as his atabeg.⁸¹ Al-‘Ādil departed from Aleppo on the night of Saturday the twenty-fourth of Ṣafar and he and the young prince entered Cairo on the fifth of Ramaḡān.

This year there was dissent between the Franks at Tripoli, and the Count [Raymond II], fled to the Sultan, whom he advised with sincerity. The prince [Reynold], sovereign of the Franks at Karak, overwhelmed a large (Muslim) caravan and captured its members. He refused to respond to the Sultan’s wish for their release; therefore the Sultan prepared to attack him and wrote to the provinces to send troops against him.

This year ‘Abdullāh ibn-Abū-al-Wahsh Barrī ibn-‘Abd-al-Jabbār ibn-Barrī al-Naḡwī died in Egypt on the night of Saturday three days from the end of Shawwāl. He was born (at Damascus) on the fifth of Rajab, 499 (A.H.).

The Year 583 (A.H.)

[13th March, 1187–1st March, 1188]

The Sultan left Damascus for the holy war against the Franks on Saturday the first of Muḡarram [13th March, 1187]. He

placed his son al-Afḍal at Ra's al-Mā',⁸² and himself encamped at Buṣrā,⁸³ where he stayed to protect the pilgrimage until it had passed at the end of the month of Ṣafar. At the head of twelve thousand horsemen he then moved on to Karak which he besieged and whose surrounding trees he cut. Next he marched to al-Shawbak and did the same.

The commander-in-chief (*Hājib*, strictly "chamberlain"⁸⁴), Lu'lu', left Miṣr with a fleet of fifteen sail [*shīniyan*] for Alexandria. Al-'Ādil marched from Cairo on the seventh of Muḥarram to Birkat al-Jubb. He moved on Karak, passing by Aylah, and met the Sultan at al-Qaryatayn.⁸⁵ They both then returned to Karak which they invested during the month of Rabī' al-Awwal [11th May–9th June] and reduced the garrison to sore straits. The Sultan then moved from Karak and lay before Tiberias. The Franks called a general muster of nearly 50,000 men in the Acre district, and raised the Crucifixion Cross above their heads.

On the twenty-third of Rabī' al-Awwal [3rd July, 1187] the Sultan took Tiberias by assault. The Franks were much enraged at this, and assembled their forces. The Sultan marched against them and on Saturday the twenty-fourth of this month [July 4th, 1187] there took place the Battle of Ḥiṭṭīn in which God gave the victory to His creed. After many onslaughts the Franks fled and the Muslims captured the Crucifixion Cross. They took Prince Arnāṭ (Reynald) Seigneur of Karak and Shawbak, and several other princes prisoner, while they killed Franks beyond count. Prince Arnāṭ was brought forward and the Sultan struck off his head with his own hand. All knights of the Temple and the Hospital in his hands were put to death. At the head of a great host the Sultan advanced on Acre to which he laid siege at the end of Rabī' al-Ākhir [8th July, 1187].

The scholar 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn-Yūsuf al-Baghdādī⁸⁶ has said:

The market in the Sultan's encampment before Acre was of vast size and covered a wide extent. It contained 140 farriers' shops. At one cook's shop I counted twenty-eight pots, each pot able to hold a sheep's head. I used to remember the number of shops, for they were recorded by the market's chief of police, but I think there were seven thousand. They were not like the usual shops seen in cities, each shop rather resembling a hundred shops, for the goods were kept in bundles and sacks.

It was said that the soldiers quarters became polluted because of their long stay in them. When they moved a short distance away, a certain grocer paid seventy *dīnārs* to those who moved his stock. As for the market for cloth and weapons, both old and new, it was something to confound the mind. There were more than a thousand baths in the camp, and most of them were managed by Maghribis. Two or three of them would gather together and dig two cubits deep, when the water would gush. They would then take some mud and make a basin with a surrounding wall which they covered with planks and matting. They cut wood in the gardens that were about them, and heated the water in cauldrons. Thus were made baths in which a man could wash himself for a *dirham* or more.

The Sultan continued to besiege Acre until, on the second of Jumādā al-Ulā [10th July, 1187], it capitulated and he took possession of the monies and goods within it. He released four thousand Muslim prisoners from captivity, and in the city's cathedral he raised a pulpit [*minbar*] and established the Friday prayers. He gave Acre in fief to his son al-Afdal 'Ali, and all the lands and properties owned by the Templars he bestowed on the jurispudent Diyā'-al-Dīn 'Īsā al-Hakkārī. Al-'Ādil led the Egyptian army to Majdaliyābā, which he besieged and overcame, taking as plunder all that was within it. A number of fortresses around Acre were captured; they were Nazareth, Caesarea, Haifa, Ṣaffūriyāh, Ma'layā, al-Shaqīf, al-Tawla', and Mount Tabor. Everything within them was plundered, the women and infants were taken prisoner, and the Muslims removed enough booty to fill a vast plain. Sebastia and Nablus were taken, and the Sultan wrote to the Caliph to inform him of his conquest of these places.

Al-'Ādil marched down to Jaffa, which he took by assault and plundered, carrying off the women and taking the men captive. Al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn 'Umar besieged Tibnīn where the Sultan followed him and joined him on the eleventh of Jumādā al-Ulā [19th July]. The Sultan continued the siege until the place capitulated on the eighteenth. He drove its inhabitants to Tyre and laid hold on supplies, beasts of burden, and coffers. He then moved on to Ṣarkhad, which he took without fighting, and marched thence to Sidon. The citizens abandoned it and fled, and he took possession of it on the twenty-first of the month. He next besieged Beirut and put it to straits until its garrison sought capitulation terms. The Sultan

accepted and took possession of the town on the twenty-ninth [6th August]. He also took Jubayl. The number of Muslim prisoners that Allah delivered from the hands of the Franks in this year exceeded twenty thousand, while the Muslims took one hundred thousand Franks captive.

The Count, lord of Tripoli, died this year. The Marquis [Conrad of Montferrat], one of the most devilish of the Franks, came to Tyre where a number of the Franks had assembled. He made himself their ruler and fortified the city.

After the taking of Beirut the Sultan went on to capture Ramleh, Hebron, and Bethlehem. He then joined his brother al-'Ādil, and on the sixteenth of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [23rd August] they commenced the siege of Ascalon. They set up mangonels against the town and pressed the attack until the Sultan took it at the end of the month. The Franks in Ascalon withdrew to Jerusalem after having held the place for thirty-five years. The Sultan next seized the Templar castles of Gaza, Latrūn, and Bayt Jibrīn.

Outside Ascalon the Sultan had been joined by his son al-'Azīz 'Uthmān from Egypt, and by the fleet under the *Hājib* Lu'lu'. The day before Ascalon was taken, on Friday the twenty-eighth of Jumādā al-Ākhirah, [4th September], the sun was eclipsed so that the firmament was dark and the stars appeared.

When his troops had mustered around him the Sultan marched upon Jerusalem and began its siege on Sunday the fifteenth of Rajab [20th September, 1187]. In the city was a great assemblage of the Franks who had collected in it. The mangonels were set up, and both sides engaged in furious battle. A number of Muslims suffered martyrdom by dying in battle for the faith, but God gave His aid to the Muslims. They gained the walls and sapped them and were about to take the city when, at the same moment, the Franks asked for terms of surrender. This was given after many objections from the Sultan. The conditions were that for each Frankish male, whether rich or poor, a ransom of ten Egyptian *dīnārs* should be paid, for each woman five *dīnārs*, and for each child, male or female, two *dīnārs*. The indigent were given their liberty through the payment of a lump sum of thirty thousand *dīnārs*.

Thus, on Friday the twenty-seventh of Rajab [2nd October, 1187], the Muslims took possession of Jerusalem. They drove out the Franks, who numbered about sixty thousand, after having imprisoned some sixteen thousand of them, man, woman, and child, who could not give ransom. The Sultan gained three hundred thousand Egyptian *dīnārs*, not counting what the emirs removed and what was taken by fraud.

The Franks who had been in Jerusalem repaired to Tyre.

Reports reached the Muslims of the conquest of Jerusalem and on horse and on foot they came from all sides to visit it, so that the multitude became greater than the city could contain. On the fourth of Sha'bān [9th October] the Friday prayers were said in Jerusalem; and the Qāḍi Muḥyi-al-Dīn ibn-al-Zakī, dressed in the black robes (of the 'Abāssid Caliphs) delivered an eloquent sermon in which he prayed for the Caliph al-Nāṣir and for Saladin. After the prayer Zayn-al-Dīn ibn-Najā rose and gave an exhortation to the people. The Sultan commanded that the *miḥrabs* of 'Umar should be covered with marble. The beautiful *minbar* was brought from Aleppo and set up in the Aqṣā Mosque. All traces of Christian worship were removed, and the Rock was cleansed with several loads of rose-water. Incense was diffused and carpets spread, and persons were appointed to the service of the mosque, while a college for the Shāfi'i jurisprudents was established in it. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was closed and then opened and a fee determined for those of the Franks who should visit it.

The good news of the conquest was sent to the Caliph and to all lands. Five days from the end of Sha'bān [30th October] the Sultan left Jerusalem for Acre. Al-'Azīz 'Uthmān departed to Egypt. It was to be his last period there. Al-'Ādil went with the Sultan, and they came to Acre on the 1st of Ramaḍān. Thence the Sultan moved to Tyre and came before it on the 9th [12th November]. It was strongly fortified, and the Franks were well prepared within it. His other troops rejoined the Sultan, a number of mangonels were raised against the city and its siege began. The Sultan called for the fleet to come from Egypt. Ten galleys [*shawāni*] joined him and the fight was waged by land and sea. The Franks captured five ships.

Meanwhile the Sultan received a letter from the Caliph re-

buking him harshly and disapproving his actions. The Sultan replied with his excuses. At the end of Shawwāl he raised the siege of Tyre and the troops returned to their various countries. The Sultan went to dwell in Acre, while al-ʿĀdil returned to Egypt.

The Franks made a night attack upon the fortress of Kawkab (al-Hawāʾ) [Belvoir], killing a number of Muslims and pillaging what was in it. At Acre the Sultan received envoys from the sovereigns of Byzantium, ʿIrāq, and Khurasān presenting him felicitations upon the conquest of Jerusalem.

In this year of 583 (A.H.) the sun, the moon, Mars, Venus, Mercury, Jupiter, Saturn, and the constellation of the Bear were for fourteen hours in conjunction with the sign of Libra in the Zodiac. All the astronomers assembled and decreed that there would be a dreadful tempest, and that this would come inevitably and assuredly, turning the world from end to end upside down, leaving no animal alive and no tree or wall that had not fallen. The greater part of this assembly was composed of men from Byzantium. They spread the dread news that it would be the Day of Judgment. Certain people took to caves and grottos on the mountains and used the most excessive precautions in terror of that day. Men said: "All the books of the ancients referred to this conjunction and held that in it was the destruction of the world." This conjunction took place in the month of Masrā,⁸⁷ that is in Jumādā al-Ākhirah, on Tuesday the twenty-seventh of that month [3rd September] and the following night until Wednesday. Yet no wind blew and the Nile was not ruffled, although it was at its highest level in the month of Masrā and it was usual for the wind to beat upon the surface of its waters from afternoon till nightfall, when by God's leave it ended. This would cause waves, but that night there was nothing of this nature, nor was there the next day, nor the day before. Men climbed to the roofs of their houses with lighted lamps to test the wind, but flames gave never a flicker. The firmest of men had been made to tremble by these Byzantine astronomers. But God made manifest their falsehoods. The Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf prevailed over the Christians, taking prisoner their chiefs and vanquishing them. East and west, he filled the land with captives,

and even Jerusalem he gained. A number of those who had quailed before the fear of this tempest were struck by disaster, some dying and some falling sick.

On the sixteenth of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [23rd September], a Damascus caravan set out for Cairo. It was the first caravan to follow the coast (of Palestine) without paying any duty or rendering any dues.

In this year Qarāqūsh al-Taḳawī took the field and conquered al-Qayrawān. The Sultan of the Maghrib, Ibn-ʿAbd al-Muʿmin gave him battle outside Tunis and was routed; and in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal the *khutbah* was recited in that land in the name of the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn. Ibn-ʿAbd al-Muʿmin reassembled his troops, gave battle to Qarāqūsh and put him to flight so that he fled to the desert.

The same year the Sultan ordered the currency about which dispute had arisen and which had injured the public to be withdrawn, enjoining that the *dīnārs* should be struck only from Egyptian gold and the *dirhams* from silver only. The black *dirhams* he suppressed because of the inconvenience of weighing them to which they put the people, who rejoiced at this measure.⁸⁸

The Year 584 (A.H.)

[2nd March, 1188–18th February, 1189]

For some time during this year the Sultan laid siege to the fortress of Kawkab [Belvoir], but achieved naught. He thereupon posted the Emir Ṣārim-al-Dīn Qāymāz al-Najmī before it with five hundred horsemen, while at Ṣafad he set the Emir Ṭughril al-Khāzindār, also with five hundred horsemen. To Karak and Shawbak he despatched the Emir Saʿd-al-Dīn Kamshabah al-Asadi. From Egypt he summoned the Emir Bahāʾ-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh al-Asadi, whom he had left behind to construct the walls of Cairo, and this general rejoined the Sultan before Kawkab. Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn charged him to fortify Acre, and thereupon began to rebuild its walls and heighten its towers, employing the prisoners, oxen, machines, and beasts of burden he had brought from Egypt.

The Sultan himself left for Damascus, which he entered on

the sixth of Rabī' al-Awwal [5th of May]. He had been absent from it for a year, two months, and five days; during that time he had defeated the Franks and conquered Jerusalem. He continued to attend the Court of Justice in the presence of the qādis; he also wrote to the provinces, calling the militia to the *jihād*.

After five days the Sultan left Damascus for Baalbek. In the territories of Ḥimṣ he was joined by 'Imād-al-Dīn Zangī ibn-Mawdūd, Prince of Sinjār, and they encamped on the shores of Lake Quds.⁸⁹ The Sultan despatched his son al-Zāhir and his nephew al-Muẓaffar, lord of Ḥamāh, to protect the Antioch road. On the first of Rabī' al-Ākhir [30th of May] he was on the march again, and sent raiding parties against Ṣāfitā⁹⁰ and neighboring fortresses. On the fourth of Jumādā al-Ulā [2nd July] he advanced in good order to meet the enemy. He conquered Anṭarsūs [Tortosa] and seized what it held as booty; he razed its walls, and its church, which was one of the largest of its kind, he destroyed. He then set fire to the town, reducing it entirely to ashes.

Thence he marched on Jabalah, coming before it on the eighteenth of the month [16th July] and taking it without resistance. He seized al-Lādhiqīyah [Laodicea] after some fighting, and his troops took possession there of considerable booty. Marching to Ṣahyūn, he contended with its garrison until he subdued it on the second of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [29th July]. He also conquered the twin fortresses of al-Shughr and Bakās⁹² and several other fortresses, taking prisoner their garrisons and seizing much booty.

After he had taken Baghras, the prince who was lord of Antioch sent messengers to him suing for peace. He consented upon condition that the Muslim prisoners he held to the number of one thousand should be released. The prince of Sinjār then returned to his home and the Sultan marched to Aleppo where he stayed a while and then left for Damascus which he entered at the end of Sha'bān [23rd October].

Kamshabah had meanwhile continued the siege of Karak until he had overcome its citadel, as he did Shawbak and al-Sala' and several other fortresses there during the month of Ramaḍān. When this good news reached the Sultan he left

Damascus and laid siege to Ṣafad until it capitulated on the fourteenth of Shawwāl [6th December]. The Franks who had been in it withdrew to Tyre. The Sultan then moved to Kawkab [Belvoir] and put it to straits until he took it by capitulation in the middle of the month of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah [5th January, 1189]. Its inhabitants he sent to Tyre, where there rallied a great number of the Franks. They sent letters to the Franks in Sicily and Spain, while the Sultan wrote news of these conquests to the Caliph al-Nāṣir. He then removed and encamped in the plain of Beisan.

In this year twelve men of the Shī'ite sect raised a clamor in Cairo, crying: "Long live the 'Alids" and running through the streets with that cry, thinking that the citizens of the town would embrace their cause and rise to restore the Fāṭimid dynasty, releasing those who were in prison and so take over the town. But when not a man joined them they dispersed.

That same year the Sultan journeyed to Jerusalem, where he arrived on the eighth of Dhū-'l-Hijjah [28th January, 1189]. After the Feast of the Sacrifice he moved to Ascalon. His brother al-'Ādil he despatched to Egypt to assist al-Malik al-'Azīz, compensating him with Karak in place of Ascalon, which he had bestowed on him. The Sultan then took up residence at Acre.

The Year 585 (A.H.)

[19th February, 1189–7th February, 1190]

The Sultan moved from Acre early in this year and entered Damascus at the beginning of Ṣafar [21st March]. On the twelfth of this month [1st April] an envoy came to him from the Caliph al-Nāṣir, one Ḍiyā'-al-Dīn 'Abd-al-Wahhāb ibn-Sakīnah, who required that the *khutbah* be made in the name of the Caliph's son, the heir-apparent 'Uddat al-Dunyā wa-'l-Dīn Abū-Naṣr Muḥammad. This was done. The envoy was sent back accompanied by Ḍiyā'-al-Dīn al-Qāsim ibn-Yaḥya al-Shahrzūri bearing presents and gifts and Frankish prisoners for the Caliph. They had with them too the crown of the King of the Franks and the cross on top of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem as well as many other objects. The cross which was of

copper and coated with gold was buried beneath the threshold of the Bāb al-Nūbī (in Baghdad) and thus was trodden upon.

On the third of Rabī' al-Awwal [21st April] the Sultan marched from Damascus. He laid siege to Shaqīf-Arnūn, but was much disquieted because the end of the truce with the prince of Antioch approached and because the Franks at Tyre rallied and were receiving reinforcements (by sea). In the Frankish coastal territories a number of engagements occurred between the Muslims and the Franks in which men on both sides were killed. More and more Muslims were killed, and the vexations of the Franks against them increased. The Sultan accordingly advanced on Acre, but the Franks had come there before him and were besieging it. The Sultan encamped in the plain of Acre and so besieged the besieging Franks. The Muslim standing army joined him, but reinforcements were coming to the Franks by sea and neither was he able to reach the town nor could the inhabitants come to him.

Nevertheless the Sultan pressed the fight against the Franks from the first of Sha'bān [14th September] until he was able to enter Acre on the second of the month. But the struggle continued until the fourth of Ramaḍān [16th October], when the Sultan moved to al-Kharrūbah. The Muslims who remained in Acre locked the gates, while the Franks dug a fosse around their camp which encircled Acre from the sea to the sea. They also placed a protective screen⁹³ around themselves and assigned soldiers to it. Thus they prevented the Muslims from reaching Acre.

Al-'Ādil arrived with the Egyptian army in the middle of the month of Shawwāl [27th November], and a fleet of fifty sail, commanded by the Ḥājib Lu'lu', reached Acre from Egypt in the middle of Dhū-l-Qa'dah. A north wind scattered the Frankish fleet and the Ḥājib captured two of their transport ships [*buṭsatayn*]. The Muslims in Acre, who numbered about ten thousand, were emboldened and their spirits were fortified by the arrival of the fleet. The Sultan dispatched missions to the more distant lands to urge the populations to holy war against the Franks. He wrote to his brother Sayf-al-Islām Ṭughtikīn in the Yemen asking for monetary aid, even as he did to Muẓaffar-al-Dīn Qara Arslān, prince of al-'Ajam. He also wrote to the Caliph.

In the meantime, reinforcements had come to the Franks, while from Aleppo came word that the emperor of Germany had set forth from Constantinople at the head of a vast host of more than a million men bound for the lands of Islām. The affair had become grave for the Sultan and the Muslims with him.

There died this year: Ḥusām-al-Dīn Sunqur al-Khilāṭī on the night of the twenty-seventh of Rajab; the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn Ṭumān on Wednesday the thirteenth of Shaʿbān; the Emir ʿIzz-al-Dīn Musak ibn-Jakkū, nephew of the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn in Shaʿbān; Sharaf-al-Dīn Abū-SaʿdʿAbdullāh ibn-Abi-ʿAsrūn at Damascus on Tuesday the eleventh of Ramaḍān—he had been born at the beginning of the year 492 (A.H.); and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn ʿIsā al-Hakkārī on Tuesday the ninth of Dhū-l-Qaʿdah at the camp near al-Kharrūbah.

The Year 586 (A.H.)

[8th February, 1190–28th January, 1191]

The advent of this year found the Sultan at al-Kharrūbah besieging the Franks; Muslim troops had arrived from the eastern lands as well as from other countries. On the eighteenth of the month of Rabīʾ al-Awwal [25th April] the Sultan removed from al-Kharrūbah to Tell Kaysān while his troops continued to muster. Meanwhile the Franks completed the three towers that they were building against Acre. This took them seven months, but at last the towers dominated the town and were filled with men and munitions; they also filled in much of the fosse.

So the Franks put the town to sore straits, and fear became great among the Muslims. Both sides contended furiously until the three towers were burned. The garrison of Acre made a sortie and, after clearing the fosse and stopping the breach in the walls, possessed themselves of all the iron that was in the towers and fortified their position with it. Between the Egyptian fleet and the Frankish ships a number of engagements occurred in which many of the Franks perished.

The emperor of Germany [Frederik Barbarossa] arrived at the frontiers of the Muslim lands, but many of his troops had perished. The Saljūq Sultan ʿIzz-al-Dīn Qilij ibn-Arslān gave

them battle, but was routed and pursued by the Franks to Koniah. This town the Germans assaulted, burning its markets. Thence they marched on Tarsus with the intention of gaining Jerusalem and retrieving the towns and fortresses that the Sultan had taken from them. But the emperor died in that town and was succeeded by his son who marched on Antioch. To this city the Sultan thereupon despatched a large part of the army that lay with him before Acre. Many of those who remained with him were struck by a great epidemic.

The Sultan ordered that the walls of Tiberias, Jaffa, Arsūf, Caesarea, Sidon and Jubayl be dismantled; this was done, and their inhabitants were moved to Beirut.

Now because of the small number of the soldiers who remained with the Sultan the Franks were emboldened to seek and destroy him. They therefore rode to engage him. They looted the tent of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, and the Muslims and the Franks set to. The Franks were pushed back to the doors of their tents and in thousands destroyed. Their strength diminished, but reinforcement came to them and they set up their mangonels against Acre.

The Sultan meanwhile withdrew to al-Kharrūbah. There he received a letter from the emperor of the Greeks in Constantinople informing him of the arrival of the *minbar* sent by the Sultan, as well as the *Khaṭīb*, the muezzins, and the Koran readers. The letter also informed him that the *khutbah* was being delivered in the old Mosque of Constantinople in the name of Caliph Nāṣir.

The son of the German emperor marched with his army from Antioch to Tripoli, whence he sailed to Acre, arriving there on the sixth of Ramaḍān [7th October]. He stayed there until he died on the twelfth of Dhū-l-Hijjah [10th January, 1191], having fought the Muslims without achieving much.

Winter set in; the war dragged on, and the troops became wearied of the constant fighting. The prince of Sinjār, the prince of Jazīrah, and the prince of Mosul all quitted the army.

In this year Sayf-al-Dawlah Abū-l-Maymūn Mubārak ibn-Kāmil ibn-Munqidh took office as Inspector of Dīwāns in Egypt, and in the month of Muḥarram al-Asʿad ibn-Mammāti began work with him in the Dīwān.

The Year 587 (A.H.)

[29th January, 1191–17th January, 1192]

As the new year came in, al-Zāhir, prince of Aleppo, departed to his land and al-Muẓaffar removed to Ḥamāh, thus leaving the Sultan with but few troops. Meanwhile the conflict continued between the garrison of Acre under the command of Bahā'-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh and the Franks. With the spring, the troops mustered around the Sultan, but at the same time reinforcements came to the Franks, who reduced the town of Acre to hard straits. They pressed the siege with extreme vigor, setting up mangonels against the town, and the struggle continued until the Franks took possession of the place on Friday the seventeenth of Jumādā al-Ākhira [12th July]. They took prisoner all the Muslims who were in it, and they were thousands. The Franks then sallied forth to give battle and the Sultan met them and routed them. There then followed some parleys with a view to peace and the release of prisoners, but no conclusion was made.

Then, on the twenty-seventh of Rajab [20th August] the Franks appeared before their tents and brought forth their Muslim prisoners. They then fell upon them in one shock, killing every one of those holy warriors who were still bound, with the Muslim vanguards looking on. The Muslims thereupon flung themselves upon the Franks and there ensued a violent battle in which many from both sides perished.

When Sha'bān came the Franks removed to Ascalon. The Sultan moved after them and met them on the fourteenth of that month [7th September] at Arsūf. The Muslims fled, but the Sultan held firm until his soldiers rallied to him, whereupon he led them again to the fight and drove the Franks to seek refuge behind the walls of Arsūf. But on the nineteenth the Sultan removed and lay before Ascalon, which he wished to raze, being himself unable to maintain it. He divided the towers among the emirs for demolition and great was the lamentation and weeping among the inhabitants in grief and sorrow at its razing. For it was one of the most beautifully constructed of towns, most strongly fortified in its walls, and most delightful to dwell

in. Destruction and burning did not cease until the month of Sha'bān [21st September] had ended.

The Hāfiz 'Abd-al-'Azīm al-Mundhirī in his book *al-Mu'jam al-Mutarjam* says: "I heard the illustrious Emir Iyāz ibn-'Abdullah—that is, Abū-'l-Manṣūr al-Bānyāsī al-Nāṣirī—saying: 'When we razed Ascalon I was given the Tower of the Templars. Khuṭluj demolished a tower on which we found inscribed "Built by the hand of Khuṭluj" which was a most strange coincidence.' Likewise the illustrious Qāḍi Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn-Yaḥyā al-Kātib related to me: 'I saw at Ascalon the Tower of the Blood while Khuṭluj al-Mu'izzī was demolishing it in the month of Sha'bān. And on it I saw this inscription: "The construction of this tower was ordered by our illustrious master, the Emir of the Armies—that is, Badr al-Jamālī—and executed by his servant and lieutenant Khuṭluj in Sha'bān."' I marvel at the coincidence, that it should be built in Sha'bān by a Khuṭluj and destroyed in Sha'bān by a Khuṭluj."

When Ascalon had been demolished, on the second of Ramaḍān [23rd September], the Sultan removed and besieged Ramleh, whose citadel he destroyed. He also demolished the church at Ludd (Lydda). He then rode with light troops to Jerusalem, but returned and destroyed the fortress of al-Naṭrūn [Latron]. Meanwhile a number of engagements took place between the Muslims and the Franks, both on land and at sea. The Sultan returned to Jerusalem at the end of the month of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah [19th December]. Abū-'l-Hayjā' al-Samīn arrived with the Egyptian army and great attention was paid to the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem and the digging of a fosse.

In this year died 'Alam-al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn-Jandar, at the end of the month of Dhū-'l-Ḥijjah, as well as al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn 'Umar ibn-Nūr-al-Dawlah Shāhanshāh ibn-Ayyūb ibn-Shādi, prince of Ḥamāh. It was he who had placed the goat fields in Miṣr in *waqf* for building a college. He died on the night of Friday the ninth of Ramaḍān [1st October] and was buried at Ḥamāh. Najm-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-al-Muwaffaq ibn-Sa'id ibn-'Alī ibn-Ḥasan ibn-'Abdullah al-Khabūshānī, the Shāfi'i jurisprudent and Ṣūfi, also died, on Wednesday the twenty-second of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah, and was buried at al-Qarāfah.

This year the command of the Egyptian fleet was given to al-ʿĀdil, and men were enlisted to it in his name.⁹⁴ The *zakāh* in Egypt was set aside for its administration, as well as the revenues from the Juyūshi endowment⁹⁵ in the two provinces (eastern and western) from the manufacture of natron,⁹⁶ from the land tax, from the sale of the mimosa⁹⁷ and the bark of acacia, from the Diwānīyah grain-ships, and from the villages of Ishnīn and Tanbadhah. Al-ʿĀdil assumed the control of all this for the Sultan, and he appointed Ṣafī-al-Dīn ʿAbdullah ibn-ʿAlī ibn-Shukr in the Dīwān of the fleet. Those who had enjoyed inheritances under the Juyūshi endowment were transferred to an endowment other than that to which they had belonged.

This year the rise of the Nile was very high so that the surrounding country was inundated. Prices in Egypt thereupon rose, wheat was sold at thirty *dīnārs* for one hundred *irdabbs*, stale bread at a quarter *dirham* for six *ratls*, fresh dates or bananas at six *ratls* a *dirham*, fine pomegranates at a *dirham* a hundred, a load of cucumbers at two *dirhams*, figs at eight *ratls* a *dirham*, and grapes at six *ratls* a *dirham*. This took place in the month of Bābah two months after the usual season. Jasmine was sold at five *ratls* a *dirham*, henna at ten *ratls* a *dirham*, fine fresh fruit at ten *ratls* a *dirham*, and those of a lower quality at fifteen *ratls* a *dirham*.

In Miṣr and Cairo many notorious acts were committed, in disobedience of God's will. The Muslim fleet seized a ship bearing twenty-two thousand cheeses, each cheese the size of a hand mill and beyond a man's lifting. This year too an earthquake occurred in Egypt, and a scorching hot wind blew for three days that destroyed those crops that had escaped the inundation. The enclosure of the grand mosque of al-Maqs was split by this flood and it was feared that the mosque itself might fall and orders were given for the wall to be rebuilt.

The Year 588 (A.H.)

[18th January, 1192–6th January, 1193]

This year opened with the Sultan in Jerusalem busy about its reconstruction. On the third of Muḥarram [20th January]

the Franks encamped on the outskirts of Ascalon, meaning to rebuild it. But this they could not do, for a party of Asadis, among whom were Yāzkuj and others, engaged them in a long number of encounters.

In the month of Ṣafar [17th February–16th March] al-Malik al-Afḍal Nūr-al-Dīn ‘Ali, son of the Sultan, left to take possession of the eastern provinces beyond the Euphrates that had belonged to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn ‘Umar. The Sultan bestowed on him twenty thousand *dīnārs*, apart from a robe and tokens of honor. Then al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū-Bakr renounced all his Syrian possessions save Karak and Shawbak and Salt and Balqa as well as half of his domains in Egypt, receiving in exchange the eastern provinces. The Sultan himself departed from Jerusalem in the beginning of the month of Jumādā al-Ulā [15th May]. He had written commanding the return of al-Malik al-Afḍal, who returned crestfallen to the Sultan. Al-‘Ādil annexed Harrān and Edessa and arranged their affairs; he returned to the Sultan at the end of the month of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [12th July].

In this month too the Franks took the fortress of al-Dārūm. The Egyptian army set forth to rejoin the Sultan, but the Franks surprised it and despoiled it of all it had, its soldiers scattering into the desert. The Franks took five hundred of them prisoner, and led away some three thousand camels, returning then to their tents. Yet still they were covetous, and meditated a march upon Jerusalem, but could not come to agreement and so lay siege to Ramleh. Then they sent ambassadors to the Sultan in search of peace.

The Sultan left Jerusalem on the tenth of Rajab [23rd July], and marched on Jaffa and besieged it, not ceasing to fight its Frankish garrison until he took it by assault, his troops winning considerable booty. He took possession of the citadel and removed the Franks who were in it. Meanwhile considerable reinforcements came to the Franks in fifty ships. The citizens of Jaffa had surprised a party of Muslims, and battle had been joined while the ships were still at sea and had not reached the shore. But the Franks in them hastened to land and fell upon the Sultan who withdrew to Yāzūr and ordered its destruction. Thence he marched to Ramleh, and from it to Jerusalem. He

wished to encounter the Franks, but his officers opposed him in this plan; some even spoke to him with uncivil tongues, whereupon he abandoned the project. He then led forth the army of Egypt and advanced on Ramleh.

But on the twenty-second of Sha'bān [3rd September] peace was made between the Sultan and the Franks, a general truce being concluded on sea and on land for three years and three months commencing on the eleventh of Sha'bān, that being the 1st of the month Aylūl [1st September]. It provided that the Franks should hold the coast from Jaffa to Acre, Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch. In the encampments, and in the lines of the soldiers it was proclaimed: "Peace has been arranged. Whosoever wishes to leave this land and enter ours let him do so; and whosoever of our land wishes to enter theirs, likewise let him do so."

The day when peace came was an auspicious day, both sides showing universal joy and happiness after what had afflicted them for so long a war. The Frankish soldiers mixed with those of the Muslims, and a group of Muslims left for Jaffa to trade. A great number of Franks entered Jerusalem to make the pilgrimage, and the Sultan received them with regard, giving them food and liberal hospitality. The Frankish kings removed to Acre, and the Sultan moved, after Jerusalem, to Damascus; he was met at Tiberias by the Emir Bahā'-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh, who had ended his captivity. The Sultan entered Damascus on the twenty-fifth of Shawwāl [3rd November], from which he had been absent for four years. He gave leave to his troops to disperse to their native lands, and they departed to them. Al-Afdal, the Sultan's son, and the Qāḍi al-Fāḍil remained with him.

In the year 588, the price of broad beans rose from fifteen *dīnārs* for a hundred *irdabbs* to thirty *dīnārs*, for fifty thousand *irdabbs* had been purchased for the sole consumption of the household of al-'Ādil. In this year too a man called 'Abd-al-Aḥad was discovered, one of the sons of Ḥasan, son of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥāfiz li-Dīn Allāh. He was brought before al-Malik al-'Azīz in Cairo, and he was asked: "Thou claimest to be the Caliph?" He replied "Yes," and he was asked further: "Where hast thou been all this time?" He related how in his youth his mother had perforce put him forth from the palace

and, becoming lost, he had come to Tanbadhah and there lain hidden. Thence he had set forth for Cairo, and had been given hospitality by a man who had opened the matter of the Caliphate with him. He then had visited a number of lands and promised fiefs to men who swore the oath of allegiance to him. He was cast into prison. Likewise some kinsmen of the Vizir Shāwar were discovered, who had earlier risen in rebellion in Cairo, and who had been imprisoned with his followers.⁹⁸

During this year it was resolved that the privy *dīwān* of the Sultan be raised to 345,444 *dīnārs*. And in it, on the sixteenth of Jumādā al-Ulā, Jamāl-al-Mulk Mūsa ibn-al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī, compiler of the work *Al-Sīrat al-Ma'mūniyah* [Biography of Ma'mūn], died in Cairo, he being the last of his house. And in this year, too, work commenced on the digging of the fosse from Bāb al-Futūḥ [the Victory Gate] to al-Maqs. And it was decreed that a number of supporters of the Fātimid dynasty who had lain prisoners in the Īwān and in the Dār al-Muẓaffar should be removed to Şarkhad by night in order that none should know of it. It was also decided to evacuate the city of Tinnis and to remove the people to Damietta, also to cut the trees of Damietta and to remove its women. Tinnis became destitute of inhabitants save soldiers. The Damietta fosse was dug, and a bridge was constructed beside the Chain of the Tower. In Cairo and Miṣr spreading alarming news increased, and shameful offenses multiplied, while prices rose.

During this year news came in a letter from the Yemen that three rivers, that had been composed of sweet water, had changed their character, one becoming brackish, the other milky, and the third bloody. Qilij Arslān ibn-Mas'ūd ibn-Qilij Arslān ibn-Sulaymān, prince of Konya, having been defeated by his son Quṭb-al-Dīn, prince of Siwās and Aqṣarā, and placed under house arrest as well, died in Sha'bān [12th August–9th September] of this year. Konya was ruled, after him, by his son Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Kaykhusru ibn-Qilij Arslān. His brothers retained the fiefs that they had held since the days of their father, but they fell into dispute. His brother Rukn-al-Dīn Sulaymān, ruler of Tūqāt,⁹⁹ rebelled against him, and possessed himself of Siwās, Aqṣarā, and Qaysāriyah, provinces belonging to his brother Quṭb-al-Dīn. He then seized Konya from Ghiyāth-al-Dīn, who fled and sought refuge in Aleppo.

The Year 589 (A.H.)

[7th January, 1193–26th December, 1193]

At the beginning of the year the Sultan was in Damascus. Al-ʿĀdil set out for Karak, and in the middle of the month of Ṣafar al-Malik al-Muʿizz Ismāʿīl ibn-Sayf-al-Islām Ṣahīr-al-Dīn Tughtikīn arrived from the Yemen, whereat the Sultan rejoiced. But on the eve of Saturday the sixteenth [21st February] the Sultan fell ill, and on the Saturday he commanded his son al-Afdal to preside in his place at the table, which he did. The malady worsened during eleven days, and al-Afdal swore the people to allegiance. His condition declined until the night of Wednesday, the twenty-seventh of Ṣafar [3rd March], the twelfth night of his illness, when he came to the point of death; he died after the morning prayers of that Wednesday. Al-Afdal mounted his horse and rode through the streets, that the hearts of the people might be consoled.

The Sultan—may God have mercy upon him—was a man of great modesty, close to the people, of great patience, skilled in blandishment and diplomacy, bearing regard for the scholars and men of religion and virtue and giving them support, and inclined to benefaction. He delighted in good poetry, having it continually read at his receptions. Many poets spoke in his praise, and came to him from distant lands. His attachment to the religious law [*sharīʿah*] was strong, and the Traditions [*Ḥadīth*] he had heard related by Abū-l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Muslim ibn-bint-Abī-Saʿd, and Abū-Muḥammad ibn-Barrī al-Naḥwi, and Abū-l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd ibn-Aḥmad al-Ṣābūnī, and Abū-l-Ṭāhir al-Salafī, and ibn-ʿAwf, and a number of others.

He was bountiful. On the plain of Acre he gave to those with him twelve thousand horses, not counting the price of those which had been wounded in the wars. He himself had no mare to ride except it were presented or promised to him, and its owner could recall it.

Once the emir Ayyūb ibn-Kinān hesitated to appear before him on account of some debt he owed, and the Sultan took on the obligation to his creditor for the sum of twelve thousand Egyptian *dīnārs*. He was godly, and abstained from unlawful things. Seeing one day his secretary ʿImād-(al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī)

writing from an inkwell embellished with silver he disapproved it and said: "This is sinful." Never again was it used in his presence. He never prayed save in company, and had a stipendiary *imām*. He prayed as soon as he awakened, a little before morning dawned. When sitting in judgment he would decide impartially between the greatest of men and his adversary. In war he was brave. He would pass through the ranks with no one with him save a page. Once, while on horseback between two ranks, a portion of the Traditions [*Ḥadīth*] was read to him. He was well versed in the "Battle Days of the Arabs," and of the singular matters of the world. And his court was pure of any debasement. May God hold him in His mercy, and grant him forgiveness.

When he had died, al-Afḍal went into mourning, while the people wept greatly. He was washed by the *faqīh* who was the *Khaṭīb* of Damascus, and then brought forth after the midday prayers so that the people prayed for him in farewell. He was buried in his house in the citadel, where he had fallen ill; and on the tenth day of Muḥarram, in the year 592 (A.H.) [15 December, 1195], he was moved to a sepulcher built for him beside the Banū Umayyad Mosque. Word of his death was sent to (his son) al-'Azīz in Egypt and to (his brother) al-'Ādil in Karak. At the time of his death his age was about seven and fifty years, the length of his reign from the death of al-'Ādid being two and twenty years and some days. He left seventeen children, male and female, one little girl being very young. But in his private treasury he left only seven and forty *dirhams*, and he left no house and property. The Qāḍi al-Fāḍil 'Abd-al-Raḥīm ibn-'Alī al-Baysāni was the repository of his confidences, and acted as his vizir.

Also in this year of 589, Ṭughril ibn-Arslān ibn-Ṭughril, son of the Sultan Muḥammad, son of Malik-Shāh, son of Alp Arslān, son of Jaghri Bey Dāwūd son of Mikā'il, son of Saljūq was killed on the twenty-fourth of the month of Rabī' al-Awwal. He was the last of the Saljūq Sultans to rule over Persia. Their dynasty had started in the year 432, and the first of them was Ṭughril Bey, son of Mikā'il, son of Saljūq. The duration of their dynasty was 158 years.

CHAPTER 2

The Reign of al-‘Azīz, Son of Saladin

‘Imād al-Dīn Abū-‘l-Faṭḥ ‘Uthmān, son of the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-Ayyūb, was born in Cairo on the eighth day of Jumādā al-Ulā in the year 567 [7th January, 1172]. When his father died in Damascus he ruled (as viceroy) over Egypt, with his seat of government in Cairo. He had with him the best part of the army and the most distinguished of the Asadi and Ṣalāḥi¹ emirs and of the Kurds. When the news of the death of his father reached him he went into mourning, seized with grief. He set the affairs of his state in order, and at the end of the period of mourning he granted robes of honor to the emirs and the great men of the state.

His brother al-Afḍal Nūr-al-Dīn remained in Damascus, whence he wrote to the (‘Abbāsīd) Caliph al-Nāṣir to inform him of the death of his father. The letter was composed by the court secretary al-‘Imād al-Iṣfahānī, and conveyed by the Qāḍī Ḍiyā’-al-Dīn Abū-‘l-Faḍā’il al-Qāsim ibn-Yaḥya ibn-‘Abdullāh al-Shahrazūrī, together with the military equipment of the late Sultan, his vestments, and horses, and rich presents as well.

Al-‘Ādil set forth from Karak for Mesopotamia, and, halting at the fortress of Ja‘bar,² sent governors to the towns of Ḥarrān and Edessa. Al-Afḍal appointed Ḍiyā’-al-Dīn Naṣr-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Athir as vizir,³ and entrusted him with all his affairs. This minister persuaded his master that it was proper to banish the emirs and high officers of his father and to find others in their stead. A number left him, among them the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas, Fāris-al-Dīn Maymūn al-Qaṣri, and Shams-al-Dīn Sunqur al-Kabīr, who were the great men of the state. They repaired to al-Malik al-‘Azīz in Cairo, and he received them well. He appointed Fakhr-al-Dīn his Master of the Household [*Ustadār*],⁴ and delegated his affairs to him. Fāris-al-Dīn and Shams-al-Dīn he nominated as governors of Sidon

and its provinces, adding to them the town of Nablus and its surrounding country. Al-Qāḍi al-Fāḍil also left Damascus for Cairo. Al-'Azīz went out to meet him, making much of his coming, and showing him much regard.

Men now began to acknowledge the sovereignty of al-'Āzīz, and turned from al-Afḍal. The city of Jerusalem was an appanage of al-Afḍal, and he wrote to his brother al-'Azīz offering it to him. This was contrived by his minister Ibn-al-Athīr, for the city then needed men and stores for defense against the Franks. Al-'Azīz was greatly pleased, and he supplied 'Izz-al-Dīn Jurdīk al-Nūri, the governor of Jerusalem, with ten thousand *dīnārs* for distribution among the troops in Jerusalem. The *khutbah* in that city was then said in the name of al-'Azīz. And since al-'Azīz apprehended the truce between him and the Franks to be broken he despatched an army to Jerusalem as a protection against the Franks. Then al-Afḍal commenced to regret having offered Jerusalem to al-'Azīz, and retracted it. This changed the feelings of al-'Azīz, and his emirs started to excite resentment between him and his brother, suggesting to him that he should reign alone and take the place of his father. This was reported to al-Afḍal.

The Year 590 (A.H.)

[7th December, 1193–15th December, 1194]

The new year found contention and mistrust between the two brothers much increased. The Ṣalāḥī emirs then met and decided that the whole empire should go to al-'Azīz. This threw the affairs of al-Afḍal into great confusion.

Al-'Azīz marched from Cairo with the Egyptian army, including the Ṣalāḥīs, Asadis, Kurds, and others, to invade Syria and wrest it from his brother al-Afḍal. Among the most noteworthy circumstances of this affair was that Jubayl—one of the conquests of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn—had been under the governorship of a Kurd⁵ who had been bribed by the Franks into surrendering it to them. Al-Afḍal had marched from Damascus to rescue it from the Franks but had been unable to do so. His incapacity to deliver the place became apparent, and this much vexed the emirs. They frightened al-'Azīz with the likely consequences

of the Frankish position, and in the month of Ṣafar [26th January–23rd February, 1194] he set forth. He appointed as his regent his brother al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Najm-al-Dīn Mas'ūd; and he also left in Cairo Bahā'-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh al-Asadi, and Ṣayrum, and Sayf-al-Dīn Yāzkuj, and Khuṭluj with nine hundred horsemen. It happened that at this time the Emir Ṣārim-al-Dīn Qāymāz al-Najmi—one of the great Ṣalāḥi emirs—fell out with al-Afdal for something he had refused him. He removed from Damascus, seemingly for his estate, but joined al-'Aziz, who received him generously and promoted him.

Al-Afdal considered writing to his brother to conciliate him, but from this he was dissuaded by his vizir, Ibn-al-Athīr, and a number of his officers. They counseled him to wage war, and he inclined to follow their advice. He despatched envoys to his uncle al-'Ādil in Mesopotamia, to his brother al-Zāhir in Aleppo, to al-Manṣūr in Ḥamāh, to al-Amjad, prince of Baalbek, and to Mujāhid Shīrkūh, prince of Ḥims, asking for their aid against his brother al-'Aziz. Their replies arrived in the month of Jumādā al-Ākhirah, promising to come to him. He set out from Damascus and encamped at Ra's al-Mā'. But when al-'Aziz arrived at al-Quṣayr in the (Jordan) valley, al-Afdal found his position uneasy and withdrew from al-Fawwār to Ra's al-Mā'. The forward troops of al-'Aziz overtook the rear-guard of al-Afdal and nearly caught them in ambush, but they fled to Damascus and entered it on the sixth day of the month.

Al-'Aziz encamped next day outside Damascus with a great force and laid siege to the city. Al-Afdal had prepared to resist him, and al-'Ādil, al-Zāhir, al-Manṣūr, al-Mujāhid, and al-Amjad had come to Damascus. Al-'Ādil sent an envoy to his nephew al-'Aziz to intercede for al-Afdal and desiring parley with him. To this al-'Aziz consented, and al-'Ādil went out and met him, both being on horseback, and negotiated with him concerning peace and abating the throttling of the city. For the siege had become sore indeed: the water canals had been cut, the fruits had been plundered, and it was the apricot season. Al-'Aziz accorded with his uncle and, withdrawing to Dārayya,⁶ encamped at al-'Awaj. He despatched the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas, his master of the household and at that time the most distinguished of the Ṣalāhis, to al-'Ādil. This officer con-

cluded peace upon conditions and returned to al-'Azīz, who removed his army and encamped at Marj al-Şuffar. He then fell grievously sick, and his death was bruited, but he returned to health.

He instructed the instrument of allegiance to be drawn up. This embraced the claims of all the (Ayyūbid) princes and removed the causes for dispute. It was acknowledged that al-Malik al-Amjad Bahrāmshāh, son of 'Izz-al-Dīn Farrukshāh, and al-Malik al-Mujāhid Shīrkūh should be jointly vizirs to al-Afdal and in allegiance to him. Al-Malik al-Manşūr, prince of Ḥamāh, was to be in the suite of al-Malik al-Zāhir, ruler of Aleppo, and a help to him. Each of the kings sent one of his emirs to attend the ceremony of swearing allegiance. They assembled on Saturday the twelfth day of the month of Rajab [3rd July]. But events took place which led to the oath of allegiance's being taken in bad faith.

Al-'Azīz espoused the daughter of his uncle al-'Ādil. The contract was accepted on his behalf by the Qāḍi al-Murtaḍi Muḥammad, son of the venerable judge [*al-qāḍi al-jalīs*] 'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Sa'di. Al-'Ādil appointed the Qāḍi Muḥyi-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-Sharaf-al-Dīn ibn-'Aşrūn to act for him. The Grand Qāḍi Muḥyi-al-Dīn drew up the contract between them, and 'Imād-(al-Dīn) al-Kātib inscribed it on a piece of satin. It was read out before al-Malik al-Zāhir and concluded in his presence.

On Friday the first of Sha'bān [22nd July] al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzi, sovereign of Aleppo, set out to bid farewell to his brother al-'Azīz, and al-'Azīz rode to meet him and encamp with him. They ate together, and, after each giving his brother a precious gift, went their separate ways. Al-'Ādil then went out with his retinue to say farewell to al-'Azīz and then went al-Afdal, he being the last.

Al-'Azīz removed from Marj al-Şuffar on the third of Sha'bān [24th July] for Egypt. On the thirteenth day of the month [3rd August], al-Afdal gave a splendid banquet to his uncle and the other princes and bade them farewell. The following day all set forward to their countries save al-'Ādil, who tarried until the ninth day of Ramaḍān [28th August] when he too departed to his lands in the east.

Al-'Aziz reached Cairo on the . . . [lacuna in ms.]. Al-Afdal intended writing to al-'Aziz to reaffirm the terms of the peace, but his officers dissuaded him from this and incited him against his brother. They even charged some emirs with corresponding with al-'Aziz, causing al-Afdal to mistrust them so that apprehension entered their minds and caused them to leave his service. Thus the Emir 'Izz-al-Din Usamah, lord of Kawkab and 'Ajlun, left al-Afdal and joined al-'Aziz, who gave him a splendid welcome. This emir commenced to rouse al-'Aziz against al-Afdal and to urge him to invade Damascus and wrest it from his brother, saying to him: "Al-Afdal has lost his freedom of choice. He is dominated by his vizir Diyā'-al-Din [ibn-al-Athir] al-Jazarī, who has corrupted the state by his mischievous advice and incited your brother to embroil with you. He has urged breaking the oath of allegiance. Among the conditions [of the oath] were sincerity of affection and honesty of intention, and these have never been. Their violation of the oath is certain, and you are freed from the pact. Betake yourself, therefore, to that realm, for it shall fall into your hand. And do so before such discord engulfs it as shall put it beyond repair." While this was going on, the Emir Shams-al-Din Aydamur ibn-al-Sallār abandoned al-Afdal and came to al-'Aziz and helped the Emir Usamah in his purpose. Then the Qāḍi Muḥyi-al-Din Abū-Hāmid Muḥammad ibn-al-Shaykh Sharaf-al-Din 'Abdullāh ibn-Hibat Allāh ibn-Abī-'Aṣrūn also joined al-'Aziz. Al-'Aziz received him with regard and appointed him to the qāḍiship of the land of Egypt and the supervision of pious endowments [*awqāf*].

Meanwhile in Damascus al-Afdal was immersed day and night in pleasure, and his indulgence became manifest. Affairs he entrusted to his vizir. Then, all unaccountably, he renounced revelry and repented, eschewing forbidden things and pouring away the wines. He took to regular worship, wore coarse clothing, and commenced to copy out the Koran in his own hand. He appropriated a mosque to himself in which he could worship his God in solitude. He fasted rigorously, made the poor his companions, and in truth so mortified himself that he passed the days in fasting and the nights in prayer.

In Egypt al-'Aziz cut off the living of the Faqīh al-Kāmil

al-Kurdi, who, as a result, roused a party against the Sultan. He went forth and collected the Bedouins and looted (the outskirts of) Alexandria, and although an army marched against him it did not overcome him. Al-'Azīz also stopped the livings of al-Janāh, 'Alkān, Majd-al-Dīn al-Faqīh, and 'Izz-al-Dīn, the son-in-law of al-Faqīh, all of whom removed from Cairo to Damascus and there received fiefs from al-Malik al-Afdal.

During the month of Ramaḍān the dyke of the Abū-al-Munajja Canal was cut seven days after the Festival of the Cross. And in this month the people openly indulged in unlawful things without anyone showing disapproval. In it too an epizootic disease attacked cattle, and camels, and asses, so that a great number of them perished. At the same time there was an increase in the export of cereals from al-Buḥayrah to the Maghrib because of their high price in that land. Report had spread among the emirs that the fiefs were to be taken from them; therefore they had neglected the husbandry of the land. Prices rose in Alexandria, and the waters of the Nile fell, after having reached the level of twenty-two fingers short of seventeen cubits so that the land became parched and goods dear. An *irdabb* of wheat reached the price of a *dīnār*. The Nile began to rise again, but still was it hard to find bread. The people clamored, and forbidden acts increased, the cost of grapes rising from making too much wine. In al-Maḥmūdīyah a mill was built for grinding hashīsh. The beer-shops were much frequented, and tax was imposed on them, some of them paying sixteen *dīnārs* a day. Making of home-brewed beer was finally prohibited. In truth the whole populace gave way to open vice, and wise men expected the coming of a catastrophe.

In this year an ambassador of the Emperor of Constantinople⁷ came to Egypt to request the Cross of the Crucifixion. It was brought from Jerusalem, studded with precious stones, and delivered to the envoy on condition that Jubayl should be restored by the Franks. The Emir Shams-al-Dīn Ja'far ibn-Shams-al-Khilāfah proceeded (on that business).

On Thursday the fourth of Muḥarram [30th December, 1193], a meeting of the heads of the ministries was held in the presence of the Sultan. On the tenth of the month [9th January 1194] the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn arrived with tidings from al-Malik

al-'Ādil and from the other sons of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn. The Sultan met him, with his emirs, and a royal banquet was spread before him. He appealed for concord within the family. On the sixteenth of the month the Sultan rode to the hunt at al-Jīzah. He passed by the Zuwaylah Gate and frowned on the benches that showed before the shops in the streets. He enjoined their destruction, and they were demolished under the attention of the Muḥtasib⁸ of Cairo. He also passed the 'Amā'ir⁹ shipyard; and he ordered the windows of the houses contiguous with the Nile to be stopped up, which was done.

In the month of Ṣafar the governors of the provinces were changed. On the tenth day of it [4th February 1194] al-'Aziz gave the oath to al-'Ādil. On the twenty-third he returned from the hunt at al-Jīzah. In this month prices rose so that one hundred *irdabbs* of corn cost eighty *dīnārs*. On the fifteenth, Fāris-al-Dīn Maymūn (al-Qaṣari), seigneur of Sidon, Sayf-al-Dīn Sunqar al-Mashtūb and Shams-al-Dīn Sunqar al-Kabīr, seigneur of al-Shaqīf, arrived (at Cairo) having parted from al-Afdal. To Maymūn, al-'Aziz gave five hundred *dīnārs*, to Sunqar four hundred, and to Mashtūb three hundred.

In the month of Rabī' al-Awwal [24th February–25th March] there were disorders in the streets on account of the crowds that gathered because of the scarcity of bread, and fires broke out in Cairo in a number of places. On the tenth the Sultan's tent was brought out for a journey. On the thirteenth prices fell a little, and bread was found in the markets. In the middle of the month came a letter from 'Alam-al-Dīn Qayṣar reporting that he had taken over Jerusalem from Jurdīk on the ninth of the month [4th March], and that he had also received the Cross of the Crucifixion, the Franks having agreed to restore Jubayl. On the sixteenth Badr-al-Dīn Lu'lu' arrived with a letter from al-Afdal with news of Jubayl, and giving reason why Maymūn and his companions were going to al-'Aziz.

Prices still went up, a hundred *irdabbs* of corn reaching 175 *dīnārs*, and the clamor of the people from hunger became great. On the twenty-seventh of the month the Cross of the Crucifixion arrived from Jerusalem; it was a piece of wood encrusted with jewels and gold. On the twenty-eighth Zayn-al-Dīn 'Ali ibn-Yūsuf of Damascus was appointed Grand Qādi of Egypt, to

replace Ṣadr-al-Dīn ibn-Dirbās, as the result of the interest of some mamelukes in him, and he was invested with a robe of honor. At the end of the month the ambassador of al-Malik al-'Ādil arrived.

On the ninth of the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir the Muḥtasib of Cairo demolished the shops and stables which Ṣadr-al-Dīn had erected in the purlieu of the al-Azhar Mosque near his house. The debris Ṣadr-al-Dīn removed to his house.

The intention of the Sultan to journey strengthened, and he despatched a certain Bahrām to obtain for him a loan from the merchants of Alexandria, while he requested the Grand Qāḍi, Zayn-al-Dīn, to lend him money from the Fund for Orphans to the extent of fourteen thousand *dīnārs*. This sum was carried to the (Sultan's) treasury, and the Sultan wrote with his own hand, and called witnesses to his act, transferring the debt to the public treasury. The withdrawal being decided on, the Sultan commanded that his mandate be conveyed to the Qāḍi. The loan which the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn had received at the time of his campaign for Acre had not yet been repaid. It amounted to 30,000 *dīnārs*, and but a little of it had been settled.

On the sixteenth of the month, Ja'far ibn-Shams-al-Khilāfah went to the Franks concerning the return of Jubayl. On Thursday the nineteenth [13th April] the Sultan issued forth from Cairo to his encampment at Birkat al-Jubb, leaving as his regent in his absence Bahā'-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh with thirteen emirs and around seven hundred horsemen. With the Sultan went twenty-seven emirs, two thousand horsemen, and one thousand household troops.¹⁰ On the third day of Jumādā al-Ulā [26th April] the Sultan resumed his march, and came to Damascus on the ninth day of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [1st June]. He moved from it on the twenty-eighth of the month at the desire of his uncle al-Malik al-'Ādil. On the ninth day of Rajab [30th June] al-Afdal entered Damascus, after peace had been concluded between him and his brother al-'Azīz on the sixth of the month.

On the fourth of Sha'bān, the band played the "Good News" [*bashā'ir*] in Cairo in rejoicing at peace between the sons of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn. The streets were decorated, and prices fell. The

Sultan returned to Cairo at the end of Sha'bān [19th August]. On the seventh day of Ramaḍān, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Tūrānshāh arrived from Damascus, accompanied by his brothers and their families. The Dīwān found itself in difficult straits, and was unable to provide for their daily needs, their table, and their toilet, so they were put to reside in the al-'Azīziyah Palace. The prices of all foodstuffs increased. On the nineteenth of the month 'Izz-al-Dīn Usāmah arrived, having abandoned al-Afdal.

The Year 591 (A.H.)

[16th December, 1194–5th December, 1195]

When, at the beginning of the year, al-'Aziz was bent on the invasion of Syria, al-Afdal consulted his officers. Some counseled him to write to al-'Aziz to propitiate him. But the vizir (ibn-al-Athir) exhorted him to turn to his uncle al-'Ādil for aid against al-'Aziz and he inclined to this advice. The many rumors of al-'Aziz's intention to have the *khutbah* said and coins struck in his name in Damascus caused much disquiet to al-Afdal. With a detachment of cavalry he set out from Damascus on the fourteenth of Jumādā al-Ulā [26th April 1195] to his uncle, who met him at Şiffin.¹¹ When they had alighted, al-Afdal beseeched his uncle to come to him at Damascus to protect him from his brother al-'Aziz. Al-'Ādil acceded, and lodged him in the Ja'bar fortress. He then set out with him for Damascus on the first day of Jumādā al-Ākhirah, arriving there on the ninth [21st May]. Al-Afdal then went across the desert to Aleppo to seek the aid of his brother al-Malik al-Zāhir, who went out to meet him and swore to give him his support. Al-Afdal moved from him to Ḥamāh, and was met by his cousin al-Malik al-Manşūr Muḥammad, son of al-Muzaḥaffar, who likewise gave his oath to assist. From him he returned to Damascus, which he entered on the thirteenth of the month. Al-'Ādil was already there, and to him al-Afdal revealed his secrets. Al-'Ādil thus understood the confusion of al-Afdal's affairs, his ill administration and his evil course of conduct, and expressed distaste and reproof; but al-Afdal heeded him not. Yet he was prodigal in giving honors to his uncle,

even granting him his standard,¹² so that daily al-ʿĀdil rode attended by the Sultanic standard, while al-Afdal rode as one of his retinue.

So things remained until a quarrel arose between al-Zāhir, prince of Aleppo on the one hand and his brother al-Afdal and his uncle al-ʿĀdil on the other on account of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, ruler of Ḥamāh, siding with al-ʿĀdil. Al-Zāhir repaired to his brother al-ʿAzīz to urge him to invade Syria, promising him his assistance against al-Afdal. This accorded well with the aim of al-ʿAzīz, who marched from Cairo with his troops on. . . .¹³

As al-ʿAzīz drew near to Damascus, al-ʿĀdil wrote secretly to the emirs to bring them to him. Some rivalry had sprung up between the Ṣalāḥi and the Asadi emirs on account of al-ʿAzīz's preference for the former. Al-ʿĀdil's cunning succeeded so that the two sides fell into discord and the Asadis turned adverse to al-ʿAzīz. Al-ʿĀdil wrote to al-ʿAzīz in confidence to make him apprehensive of the Asadis and urging him to drive them from him. At the same time he wrote to the Asadis to put them in fear of al-ʿAzīz and to cause them to incline to himself. His craft took effect and his plan succeeded. The Asadis determined to abandon al-ʿAzīz and counseled the Kurds and the Maharānis to do likewise, which they did. The chief emir of the Kurds was the Emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū-l-Hayjā' al-Samīn. He united the Kurds with the Asadis, and all agreed to quit al-ʿAzīz and join al-ʿĀdil and al-Afdal that al-ʿAzīz might be ruined. They also wrote to those of their number who remained in Egypt that they should form line of battle between al-ʿAzīz and Cairo, that he might thus be caught between their two armies and fall to the grasp of their hand.

On the evening of the fourth of Shawwāl [11th September] the Emir Abū-l-Hayjā' set out with the Kurds, the Maharānis, and the Asadis, bearing their war equipment. And when they joined al-ʿĀdil he rejoiced, for they were the greater part of the army. On the morning of the fifth of Shawwāl al-ʿAzīz took the road to Egypt, bearing fearful of the Asadis who remained in Egypt. His regent there was the Emir Bahā'-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh al-Asadi, who did not change his loyalty, so that al-ʿAzīz reached Cairo and installed himself there.

Al-'Ādil then marched with al-Afdal and the troops from Damascus, bent on taking Cairo and covetous of the possessions of al-'Aziz. He had arranged with al-Afdal that one-third of Egypt should go to himself, and the other two-thirds to al-Afdal. Al-Afdal had agreed and the two had departed from Damascus. With them went also (al-Manṣūr), prince of Ḥamāh, as well as 'Izz-al-Dīn ibn-al-Muqaddam and Sābiq-al-Dīn ('Uthmān) ibn-al-Dāyah, lord of Shayzar.¹⁴ He left al-Malik al-Zāfir Khidr, lord of Buṣra, as his regent in Damascus. He was also joined by 'Izz-al-Dīn Jurdik al-Nūri, governor of Jerusalem. When they arrived at Tell al-'Ujūl, al-Afdal presented robes of honor to all the Asadis and to the Afdali Kurds. He also conferred on them the cymbals.¹⁵

Al-Afdal marched on Jerusalem, which was delivered to him by Jurdik to whom he gave Baysān, Kawkab, the Jawlān and al-Manīḥah.¹⁶ The army then moved to Bilbīs and encamped before it. Within the city were a number of Ṣalāḥis and 'Azizis. The leader of the Ṣalāḥis was Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas, and the Emir Hakdari ibn-Ya'li al-Ḥamīdi commanded the Kurdish section; al-'Ādil and al-Afdal besieged this garrison.

It was the time of the Nile's inundation, and prices were high and forage scarce, so that the soldiers reached extreme distress, while their generals regretted their situation. Meanwhile al-'Aziz despatched to the people of Bilbīs ships laden with men and stores but the Asadis heard of this and rode to attack the ships. Some they seized, and some they sank; and they captured a number of prisoners. Eight ships escaped and returned to Cairo. Thus the siege of Bilbīs became so severe that the town nearly fell. Al-'Aziz in Cairo was sore pressed, and lacking money. But he was much loved by his subjects because of his righteous conduct and his bounty and amiability toward them. When al-'Ādil and al-Afdal laid siege to Bilbīs and he was forced to enlist soldiers but had no money, the rich men offered him a sum, but he did not accept it. The Qāḍi al-Fāḍil withdrew from conducting the affairs of the state, and from intercourse with people, and resigned because of the confusion of things that he saw.

'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-'Ali al-Baysāni had for a long time controlled justice and finance in al-Buḥayrah, and had thereby

amassed a considerable fortune. Then a quarrel occurred between him and his brother, the Qāḍi al-Fāḍil, which caused a loss of prestige with the people where before they had given him much respect. He, therefore, was removed from his office. He was married to a rich woman of the Banū Muyassar, and settled with her in Alexandria. But relations with her were unhappy, because of his malign disposition. The father of the woman repaired to Alexandria and proved the injury being done to his daughter to its qāḍi. The qāḍi himself went to the house, but was unable to open the door behind which was the woman. He therefore ordered that a breach be made into the house, and brought forth the woman and restored her to her father, repairing then the breach. 'Abd-al-Karīm was greatly enraged and proceeded to Cairo, where he proffered five thousand Egyptian *dīnārs* to the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas and engaged himself to pay forty thousand *dīnārs* into the treasury of al-Malik al-'Azīz if he should be appointed to the qāḍiship of Alexandria. All these monies he conveyed to Fakhr-al-Dīn who brought them before al-'Azīz—the Sultan then being in extreme need of funds—saying: "This store of wealth I bring to you without having demanded it and without having gone to trouble for it"; and he explained the matter. With lowered eyes al-'Azīz remained silent for a time then raised his head and said: "Restore the money to its owner and say to him 'Beware that thou doest not this again. For not every King is just.' And let him know that if I had accepted this from him I should thereby have sold the people of Alexandria, and this I will never do." When Jihārkas heard this he was downcast, and a change appeared in his countenance, whereupon al-'Azīz said to him: "I see you despondent. I think you received some commission for the business." "Yes," replied Jihārkas, "five thousand *dīnārs*." Al-'Azīz mused, then said: "He has given you money from which you shall profit. For I will give you, in place of it, something from which you will profit many times over." Whereupon he signed a mandate granting Jihārkas the district of Ṭanbadhah, the proceeds of whose yearly crops amounted to seven thousand *dīnārs*. His officers expostulated with him, and pressed him to take a loan from the Qāḍi al-Fāḍil. So he called the Qāḍi to have audience with him in a

belvedere of the Palace of the Vizierate which overlooked the street. But when he descried the Qāḍi approaching he felt mortified and withdrew to the ḥarīm being ashamed to talk with him concerning the loan. But his emirs did not cease to plead with him until he left the ḥarīm. When he met the Qāḍi he greeted him with profuse expressions of admiration and then said: "You will know that circumstances have constrained me, and that I am much in want of money. I have nothing but your good regard. Repair therefore my state either by your wealth, your counsel, or by yourself." To this al-Fāḍil gave answer: "All that I possess is from your favor. Let us first try counsel and perspicacity, and then, should money be needed, it shall lie in your hand."

As for al-'Ādil, when the dearness of commodities and privation pressed hard upon his officers he invited the presence of the Qāḍi al-Fāḍil by means of an envoy whom he sent to al-'Aziz, who then despatched al-Fāḍil on this errand. It was rumored that when the ships that al-'Aziz had sent to the relief of Bilbīs suffered as they did, he feared that his empire would fall from his grasp; he sent secretly to his uncle, informing him that he had erred and that he intended to retire to the Maghrib, asking only that his uncle should protect his wives and children. Al-'Ādil felt compassion for him and summoned al-Fāḍil. When the Qāḍi approached, al-'Ādil rode to meet and welcome him. They did not cease in their efforts until they had settled the matter. The Asadis and the Kurds, they agreed, were to return to the service of al-'Aziz on the condition that they should be mulcted of nothing and that their fiefs should be returned to them. Al-'Aziz and they were to engage themselves by mutual oath. Al-'Ādil was to dwell in Egypt with al-'Aziz in order that he might lay the foundation of that prince's empire. Al-'Aziz and al-Afḍal were to make peace, each to remain in his own possessions. Al-Fāḍil returned, and the matter was settled as described, all swearing to be faithful to the conditions.

On this al-'Aziz left Cairo for Bilbīs. He was met by his uncle al-'Ādil and his brother al-Afḍal, and complete peace was outwardly established. Al-Afḍal then took the road to Syria, and with him, the Emir Abū'l-Hayjā' al-Samīn. All the littoral had

fallen to al-Afdal. Al-'Azīz likewise returned to Cairo, accompanied by his uncle, al-'Ādil, to whom he gave the Citadel in Cairo as residence. Al-'Ādil set about reforming affairs in Egypt, and supervising the great landed properties and farms. To al-'Azīz he manifested an exceeding affection, but gained absolute power of command and interdiction, of judgment and control, in all affairs of the state, great and small. The Qāḍi Muḥyi-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-Abi-'Asrūn was dismissed from the qāḍiship of Egypt, and in his stead Zayn-al-Dīn Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn-Yūsuf ibn-'Abdullāh ibn-Bundār al-Dimashqi was appointed.

In this year al-'Azīz renewed the peace prevailing between him and the Franks. A letter arrived from the Emperor of the Greeks [Isaac II] informing him that all the Greeks had concurred in his, Isaac's, sovereignty; that he was well disposed toward the Muslims; that he had enjoined the building of a large congregational mosque in which the Friday prayers and the *khutbah* were said; that he had repaired out of his own purse a portion of it which had fallen down; and that he had enabled the Muslims in Constantinople to congregate and pray therein. And he made the request that the Patriarch (of Alexandria) and the Christians be allowed to accompany their dead with lighted candles and to pursue their rites in their churches. He also requested the release of the Greek prisoners in Egypt.

On the eleventh of Jumādā al-Ulā Zayn-al-Dīn 'Alī ibn-Yūsuf was dismissed from his qāḍiship and replaced by Muḥyi-al-Dīn Abī-Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn-'Abdullāh ibn-Hibat-Allāh ibn-'Asrūn.

The Year 592 (A.H.)

[6th December, 1195–24th November, 1196]

At the beginning of the year al-Malik al-Afdal arrived in Damascus and his troops dispersed to their homelands. Al-Afdal continued his ascetic life, and was assiduous in prayer. Affairs of state were delegated in their entirety to his vizir, Ḍiyā'-al-Dīn ibn-al-Athīr, under whom things went so untowardly that complaints were numerous. But al-'Ādil set the affairs of the

Egyptian state in order. He changed the fiefs, increased the revenues and the governors of the provinces, and magnified the wealth of the land. Near to al-'Azīz he placed the Emir 'Izz-al-Dīn Usāmah, who became at once the repository of the Sultan's secrets and his chamberlain [*ḥājib*] and the intermediary between him and his uncle. The Emir Ṣārim-al-Dīn Qaymāz al-Najami was assigned exclusively to al-'Ādil, and became his dearest friend.

On Saturday the twelfth of Muḥarram [17th December] Ibn-Abi-'Aṣrūn and his deputies were relieved of office. He was instructed to remain in his house, and then to leave Egypt. He locked the door of his house, and prepared himself for the journey, while at the same time he entreated permission to remain. On the twenty-seventh, Zayn-al-Dīn 'Ali ibn-Yūsuf (ibn Bundār) was invested with a robe of honor and restored to the qāḍiship in the place of Ibn-Abi-'Aṣrūn.

In the beginning of the month of Ṣafar, al-Malik al-'Azīz constituted the yields from the district of al-Kharibah, belonging to al-Manūfiyah, as *waqf* to the benefit of the chapel of the Imām al-Shāfi'i in the old Mosque of Egypt, and entrusted its lecturership to al-Bahā' ibn-al-Jummayzi.

In the months of Ṣafar and Rabī' al-Awwal many of the dead were cast upon the streets, since their number in Miṣr and Cairo daily exceeded two hundred; and in Miṣr there could be found none who would enshroud them. Most of the deaths were from the famine. Wheat reached the price of 180 *dīnārs* for a hundred *irdabbs*, and bread one *dirham* for three *ratls*. The poor bought pitchers and went to and from the Nile in the early morning to fill them with water, designing to sell them at a *dirham* a pitcher. But they found none who would buy them, and cried: "Who will give me alms for this pitcher? Who will buy it from us for a piece of bread?" Prices rose, privation became most grievous, the indigent perished, and death spread, mostly on account of starvation. The wicker baskets in which produce was borne were used for carrying the dead, and biers could not be used save in turn. Hands were stretched out to steal a piece of bread. Such thieves were beaten; their heads were smitten till the blood ran; but they would not desist, nor even throw from their hands that which

they had snatched. Wheat there was none, save that sent by Sharīf ibn-Tha'lab in a succession of his ships and sold in his warehouse.

On the ninth of Ṣafar came word that the coffin of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn had been moved on the tenth of Muḥarram [15th December] with great solemnity from the Citadel in Damascus to a sepulcher prepared for him. On the twenty-ninth of the same month, al-Malik al-Zāhir Dāwūd (Mujīr-al-Dīn), prince of al-Bīrah, arrived, likewise, Sābiq-al-Dīn 'Uthmān, prince of Shayzar, and Bahā'-al-Dīn ibn-Shaddād, qāḍi of Aleppo. Al-'Ādil went out to meet them at Birkat al-Jubb, and al-'Imād al-Kātib also issued forth.

Tidings also came that the Bedouins of the western provinces had descended on al-Buḥayrah and purchased wheat at a *dīnār* for one *waybah* [five bushels]. Foods in western lands had been lacking in the foregoing year, and in the present year the rain had not fallen. In Syria the locusts swarmed and raised a crisis. In Miṣr and Cairo there was an outbreak of serious diseases and devastating fevers, which raged and took epidemic form. Liquid medicines, sugar, and aromatic drugs became dear, and watermelons sold at twenty-four *dirhams*. Chickens could not be found, and wheat reached the price of two hundred *dīnārs* a hundred *irdabbs*. The high prices brought about a grievous state: food was wanting, mendicancy increased, and death from starvation became frequent. Bread was filched whenever it was seen; some men were seen eating earth, others manure, and crowds pressed to collect the leavings flung from the sugar refineries. Deaths increased in Alexandria too, and the number of corpses thrown upon the streets multiplied. Medicaments were wanting, and the mortality of the rich and poor alike, and the public distress, became very great. There were those who were seen searching old dung-heaps for a buried crust, the remains of the table, and the sweepings of the houses; who were seen to lock their door and die; who went blind from starvation; and who stood by the shops and cried: "Give me but the smell of bread."

A man was employed in the Bureau of Alms Assistance [*zakāh*] who in one year wrote drafts for 52,000 *dīnārs* from these funds. The *ṭawāshi* (Bahā'-al-Dīn) Qarāqūsh was appointed Controller

[*shadd*] of the fund, and ordered not to dispose of it, but to have it deposited in the coffers as against such emergencies in which he might be given instructions. During the year Ibn-Tha'lab (al-Sharīf) al-Ja'fari obtained 60,000 *dīnārs*' worth of bread. The cymbals and banner were conferred on him. Eventually, the responsibility of supplying the household of al-'Aziz with meat and bread was entrusted to him, but at times he contrived to filch part of the sustenance of its members. Much as they grumbled, they were not heard.

In the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir, Sārim-al-Dīn Khuṭluj al-Ghazzi was dismissed from his controllership over the finances of the various ministries, which was entrusted to Bahā'-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh in addition to his being controller of the Alms Assistance Fund. He was thus controller of the whole of the finances. In this month, too, deaths increased; there was not a house in which was not a corpse, or wailing, or someone sick. The situation became serious indeed. Drugs became more costly, and physicians were lacking, and even those who found one could not reach him because of the press around him. Death was the main preoccupation of the living, and not a day passed without a number of funerals in each quarter. Gravediggers were wanting, and if one was found he would not dig deep enough, and before long a stench arose from the corpse whereby the cemeteries could not be approached nor tombs visited. Then prices began to drop.

In Jumādā al-Ulā [2nd April–1st May] came numerous reports of disquiet in Damascus; therefore the Sultan determined to lead an army into Syria. Attention was turned to the payment of the Sultan's establishment; its members drew the pay of one month, while they were owed for fourteen months. But resources were inadequate to pay these amounts to them, and some of them were referred (for their pay) to certain quarters. The Jandars¹⁷ refused to accept only one month's pay. Report of this reached al-'Aziz, who instructed Khuṭlubā to move them into camp. Those who delayed departing the *ṭawāshi* Qarāqūsh placed in irons and put to work on the fortified walls. The Jandars marched out, perforce, but discontentedly. Their complaining was notorious throughout the year. The money disbursed on the Sultan's establishment had been borrowed from

the emirs and was to be repaid in the next year, 593, from the tribute paid by non-Muslims.

Al-'Azīz then moved to camp. He put the emirs into speedy march, and dispatched chamberlains [*ḥujjāb*] into the provinces to animate the soldiery. One after another men went forth. The departure from Birkat al-Jubb took place on the eighth of the month, the Sultan al-'Ādil and al-'Azīz leaving with all the Asadis and the Mamelukes.

The serious diseases spread, and there was no time in which there were not many funerals. Medicaments became still more costly, and the price of a chicken reached thirty *dirhams* while a watermelon cost one hundred *dirhams*. Word came that in Qūṣ and the provinces there were contagious diseases with continuous deaths. In Alexandria plague and death prevailed. At the end of the month prices fell, a hundred *irdabbs* of wheat falling to eighty *dīnārs* and bread selling at seven *raṭls* a *dirham*, so that begging decreased; but the scourge of death lifted after chickens had been brought from Qūṣ and sold at seven *dīnārs* for ten chickens; the like of this had never before been heard of in Egypt. In this month it was proclaimed in Cairo and in Miṣr that the Sharīf Ibn-Tha'lab would be the leader of the Pilgrimage and that those resolved to go should make their preparations.

In the month of Jumādā al-Ākhirah there was a stoppage in the payment of expenses of the Sultan's household, and the supply and service of his wives and children. Affairs reached such a state that goods were taken from the market by seizure without measure or payment. This led to a rise in the price of foodstuffs, as shopkeepers raised their general prices to the amount that would compensate for what they lost to the Sultan. This led to an inquiry into improper gains. Beer and wine breweries were farmed out at twelve thousand *dīnārs* each. Their display and sale was permitted in stalls and shops, and none could oppose it. The profits of this unlawful trade were spent on the needs of the Sultan; and revenues from the frontiers and tributes paid by non-Muslims accrued to those who cared not whence the monies came.

In this month al-'Ādil and al-'Azīz came to al-Dārūm. They ordered the destruction of its citadel, whose parts were divided

among the emirs and the jandars; but this distressed its citizens, for it had been a convenience to travellers. The two sovereigns reached Damascus—al-Afdal had prepared for war since the beginning of the month of Rajab—and laid siege to it until they possessed it on the twentieth [21st May] of this month, after a number of engagements in which al-Afdal was betrayed by his emirs.¹⁸ When the city had been taken, al-Afdal went down from the citadel to the victors. Al-'Adil felt ashamed before him, for it had been he who had incited al-'Aziz to the project to promote his own ends, as shall be related. He bade al-Afdal to return to the citadel; but he had been in it four days before al-'Aziz despatched to him Aybak Fuṭīs, the commander of the Jandars, and Ṣārim-al-Dīn Khutlij, the master of the household, who removed him and his children and the children of his father¹⁹ to another place. He discharged his debts, and paid the salaries of those in his service. This sum exceeded twenty thousand *dīnārs*, which he raised by selling his personal apparel, his camels and his mules, his library and his mamelukes, and all his property; yet this did not suffice. To his misfortune his brother and his uncle were inexorable toward him. His uncle al-'Adil sent instructions for him to repair to Ṣarkhad. He had with him no one to escort his family until Jamāl-al-Dīn Maḥāsin sent ten (soldiers) to accompany him to Ṣarkhad.

Busrā was taken from al-Malik al-Zāfir Muẓaffar-al-Dīn Khidr and given to al-Malik al-'Adil. Al-Zāfir was commanded to remove to Aleppo, where he joined (its sovereign) his brother al-Zāhir. It is said that al-'Adil had agreed with al-'Aziz, while yet in Cairo, that if al-'Aziz defeated his brother al-Afdal and took possession of Damascus from him he should remain in that city, while al-'Adil should return to Egypt as regent for al-'Aziz. But when al-'Aziz had taken Damascus and driven out his brother al-Afdal, the crafty and veiled intentions of his uncle became apparent to him, and he regretted what he had agreed with him. He therefore sent secretly to his brother al-Afdal expressing contrition and saying: "Do not abdicate your sovereignty of Damascus." But al-Afdal deemed this to be treachery on the part of his brother, and acquainted his uncle al-'Adil of it. Al-'Adil rose in anger and accused al-'Aziz

and bitterly reproved him, but al-'Azīz denied that the proposal had issued from him. He was filled with rage for his brother al-Afdal, and removed him to Şarkhad in a most shameful manner. His vizir Ḍiyā'-al-Dīn (ibn-al-Athīr) al-Jazari went into hiding for fear of being killed, and then settled in Mosul.

Al-'Azīz was established as ruler of Damascus on the fourteenth of Sha'bān [13th July, 1196]. He displayed justice and annulled many taxes. He prohibited the employment of people of the covenant²⁰ in the Sultanic service, and they were compelled to wear the dress distinguishing non-Muslims [*al-ghiyān*]. He departed from Damascus on the eve of the ninth of the month, bound for Cairo, leaving his uncle al-'Ādil in his stead at Damascus. Coming to Jerusalem, he received possession of it from Abu'l-Hayjā' (al-Samīn), and turned it over to the Emir Shams-al-Dīn Sunqur al-Kabīr, Abu'l-Hayjā' retiring to Baghdad.

Al-'Azīz arrived in Cairo on Thursday the fourth of Ramaḍān [1st August, 1196]. Damascus and its provinces became the fief of al-Malik al-'Ādil, al-'Azīz having no prerogative in those lands save that the *khutbah* was said and coins were struck in his name. On the eighteenth of the month the Sultan rode out to the Nilometer and adjusted it, and on that day it was announced that the Nile's flood had reached the level of three fingers over sixteen cubits. On the twentieth of the month the canal dyke was opened, and al-'Azīz was a-horse at the ceremony. There was a multitude of spectators and a rabble crowd who fell upon each other with sticks, and hurled stones, so that eyes were plucked out and head-dresses snatched off.

It was the custom to respect the month of Ramaḍān by abstaining from making wine and openly purchasing grapes and wine jars, nor should anyone consider violating the sacred law or revealing that which should be veiled. But in this month the price of grapes rose high because of the amount of wine made from them. The winemakers sold their wines openly because of the royal monopoly, while its tax accrued to the Sultan's officers. The receipts of farming out its monopoly reached seven thousand *dīnārs*; some of it fell to al-'Azīz and was used for making drinking vessels.

In this month many more men and women met when the

canal was opened, and at the banks at Miṣr, and the waters of the Nile became polluted with shameful sins. Al-'Aziz continued to hold sessions for hearing petitions on Tuesdays and Thursdays. The second of Shawwāl was the day of Nawrūz,²¹ and according to custom water was sprinkled and once again there was throwing of eggs and beating with leather thongs. The inundation of the Nile persisted. The people indulged in an excess of immorality, and no one reproved them.

In this month all sources of revenue ceased to flow, and the tax collecting of the *Dīwān* in Egypt came to a halt. Many sources of revenue were assessed at many times their capacity, so that several of them remained beyond the reach of those charged with their collection. The *Dīwān* accountants²² placed themselves under the protection of some who did protect them. But the Head of the *Dīwān*²³ did not dare to divulge the names of those who gave this protection, let alone collect what was due from them. He also refrained from protecting those whom he had been protecting previously. Things became so bad that all provisions for the Sultan's table and provisions for his household had to be defrayed from the farmed tax on wines and beer. In truth, no worse year than this had ever occurred before, and no administration had ever been known to descend to so low a level as this had achieved.

On the fourteenth of the month the Sharīf ibn-Tha'lab set out with the pilgrimage and encamped at the watering-place of Raydān.²⁴ There were many murders in Cairo by drunken men, and forbidden things were openly done in the city. No night passed but some brawlers were killed or wounded. Things reached a pass when goods and foodstuffs were stolen in the markets at times even by day and systematically by night. The court of complaint was conferred on the *ṭawāshi* Qarāqūsh, who sat outside the Sultan's palace. The direction of the *Dīwān* and the control of the Treasury was invested in Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas although he shrank from it. Ṣārim-al-Dīn Khuṭluj was appointed Master of the Household.

On the nineteenth of the month the Abū'l-Munaja dyke was cut, al-'Aziz making the first cut. The Nile rose a finger, this being the eighteenth finger below eighteen cubits, which is the level considered by the Egyptians to be the highest level.

On the twenty-second the pilgrimage broke camp. Though long forgotten and unheard of since the time of the Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn-Allah in the year 540 [1145/6], claims which the Copts were wont to fabricate falsely to provoke confiscations, ruin homes, fill jails, and discredit the name of the Sultan of the day were renewed. Ibn-Waḥīb and a Christian scribe and some others collaborated over the papers and completed them. Al-As'ad ibn Mammātī and the Controller [*Shādd*] were deputed to examine the papers and submit their findings to Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas.

In the month of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah carousers attacked many people whom they encountered by night, stabbing them with knives, and no night passed without one or two killings. No one was avenged, nor was there an inquiry as to the slain, nor could the Governor [*Wāli*] of Cairo prevent these crimes. In the canal six men were found dead and trussed, and no questions were asked about them, nor was the affair denounced.

In the month of Dhū-'l-Ḥijjah, al-'Azīz determined to demolish the pyramids and remove the stones to Damietta for its fortified walls. But it was explained to him that the trouble of demolition would be vast, and that the usefulness of the stones but small. He therefore changed his decision from the two (large) pyramids to the smaller, which was built from quartz, and its razing was commenced. Also in this month al-'Azīz left for Alexandria, leaving Bahā'-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh and Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas in Cairo to act for him.

In this year died the Qāḍi al-Ashraf Abū-'l-Makārim al-Ḥasan ibn-'Abdullah ibn-'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-'Abdullah ibn-al-Ḥabbāb, qāḍi of Alexandria. In his place the *faqīh* Abū-'l-Qāsim Sharaf-al-Dīn 'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Salāmah was appointed on the twenty-seventh of Shawwāl. Ibn-al-Ḥabbāb was born in the year 537, and was for twenty-eight years a judge [*ḥākim*] in Alexandria. He was noble of soul and sincere in friendship. His jurisdiction in Alexandria lasted from the year 564 until his death in the city on the third of Jumādā al-Ākhirah. On the fifth of Dhū-'l-Ḥijjah the Qāḍi al-Rashīd (al-Dīn)²⁵ ibn-Sanā'-al-Mulk died. Of him the Qāḍi al-Fāḍil said: "How excellent is the Ṣāhib, for whom time shall find no successor, and whose like shall not be known among nations. A man of true faithfulness, steadfast in friendship and belief, whose virtues were more

than one, and who was ever zealous in seeking the advantage of his friends. He knew by heart the Book of Allah [the Koran], and was active in literary studies. He gave alms freely, may God benefit him, and performed pious works, may God let him know His blessings."

In this year the Sharīf ibn-Tha'lib led the pilgrimage. The warships sailed from Egypt and defeated a number of Frankish transport vessels [*baṭas*] in which was a quantity of money which they seized. And in this year the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas built his *qayṣārīyah*²⁶ in Cairo. There was also an earthquake in Egypt. Al-'Alam 'Abdullah ibn-'Ali ibn-'Uthmān ibn-Yūsuf al-Makhzūmi died on Friday the eleventh of Jumādā al-Ulā; he was born in the month of Ramaḍān in the year 549 and had studied Ibn Barri and himself composed poetry.

The Year 593 (A.H.)

[24th November, 1196–12th November, 1197]

In this year the *khutbah* was pronounced in Aleppo in the name of al-'Aziz, and coins were struck in his name, in consequence of the peace arranged between that prince and his brother al-Zāhir. It had been negotiated by the Qāḍi Bahā'-al-Dīn Abū-'l-Maḥāsin ibn-Shaddād and Ghars-al-Dīn Qilij, who went with presents from Aleppo to al-'Aziz in Cairo and arranged peace between the two brothers, and then returned to al-Zāhir. The *khutbah* was said for al-'Aziz in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal, and coins were struck in his name in the same month. In this year the Franks moved on the Islamic lands. Al-'Ādil left Damascus and despatched an army to Beirut to destroy its enceinte.

In this year, in the month of Shawwāl, al-Malik al-'Aziz Zāhir-al-Dīn Sayf-al-Islām Ṭughtikīn ibn-Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, sovereign of the Yemen, died and was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Mu'izz Fath-al-Dīn Abū-'l-Fidā' Ismā'il. Al-Malik al-'Ādil, sovereign of Damascus, took Jaffa by assault, plundering, and taking many prisoners, numbering, it is said, seven thousand persons, male and female. Al-'Ādil then moved from Jaffa to Sidon and Beirut and laid them waste. Beirut was sacked, and those within it fled.

Al-'Ādil then sent to al-'Aziz seeking reinforcements. Al-'Aziz

despatched troops who set out from Cairo on the first of Shawwāl and marched to Bilbīs. Then another course seemed good to al-'Azīz and he dispersed the army and did not march.

The Year 594 (A.H.)

[13th November, 1197–2nd November, 1198]

The Franks who had arrived by sea spread out along the maritime plain.²⁷ They captured the fortress of Beirut, and killed a number of Muslims on the confines of the district of Jerusalem, taking also many prisoners and seizing much booty. Al-Malik al-'Ādil sent envoys to Cairo to seek aid from al-'Azīz who despatched troops from Egypt, Jerusalem, and other places. Al-'Azīz then set out himself with the remainder of the Egyptian army and encamped before Ramleh on the twenty-sixth of Ṣafar [7th January, 1198]. The Ṣalāḥīs and Asadis arrived, headed by the Emir Shams-al-Dīn Sunqur the Dawādār,²⁸ Sarā Sunqur, 'Alā'-al-Dīn Shaqīr, and some Kurdish officers, and joined al-'Ādil while he was at Tibīn. Al-'Azīz followed in their steps. Between these troops and the Franks some famous engagements took place that led to the retreat of the Franks to Tyre. Al-'Ādil and al-'Azīz rode in their pursuit and killed many of them. Then al-'Azīz left his army with al-'Ādil and returned to Cairo on the eighth of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [17th April] before the situation with the Franks had been resolved. The cause of this was that Maymūn al-Qaṣrī, and Usāmah, and Sarā Sunqur, and al-Ḥajjaf, and Ibn-al-Mashtūb had conspired to murder him. When intelligence of this reached him he removed to Cairo and the citizens came forth to meet him; it was a memorable day. A truce was concluded between al-'Ādil and the Franks for a period of three years, whereupon al-'Ādil returned to Damascus.

In the month of Rajab [9th May–7th June] al-'Ādil and al-'Azīz renewed their resolve to dismantle Ascalon, to raze its walls, and to demolish its buildings. A party was sent from Jerusalem to tear out the key-stones and level the fortified wall towers. Thus was destroyed a city which had no like, a frontier station without equal, and a structure which time will not replace. All this came to pass from the incapacity of the

kings to repel the Franks in arms, whereby they were compelled to demolish the cities and efface their trace.

In the month of Sha'bān the Grand Qāḍi, Ṣadr-al-Dīn ibn-Dirbās, rode out to observe the new moon. He instructed the witnesses to bring each one or two candles. There was a great press of men and candles, and a large procession, and the march was oppressive for the witnesses. In this month al-'Aziz enjoined the prohibition of buildings that the emirs had commenced to erect on the Nile, encroaching on its banks. The Jandārs were brought out, and they compelled all who had prepared foundations to destroy them; the order was strictly enforced.

In the month of Ramaḍān al-'Aziz ordered cutting the trees in the Baghdad Garden opposite the Lu'lu'ah Palace, and making it into an open space. In the same month wine was used publicly and unlawful acts were openly indulged in, none disapproving of this state of affairs. The price of grapes increased so that it reached four *ratls* a *dirham*. Also in this month the rise of the Nile began to slacken. Prices rose and commodities were lacking even in *Dīwān* quarters. Sources of revenue became difficult, so that all sorts of government dependents lived in privation, and what had been forbidden became permissible by opening the doors of legal justifications. What men possessed was taken from them by extortions. A certain Ibn-Khālīd was compelled to sign a bond for a thousand *dīnārs*, and a number of others were despoiled. The expenses of the Sultan's table were thus met.

On the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast (of Ramaḍān) a celebration was held outside the city. Al-'Aziz attended the prayers and the *khutbah*, and presented robes of honor to all the emirs and turbaned ones, while a well-spread table was laid out. On the thirteenth of the month the Nile reached a level of sixteen cubits, and on the sixteenth al-'Aziz rode out to examine the Nilometer. On the eighteenth the dykes were opened, and the populace abandoned themselves to unrestrained improprieties. Nawrūz²⁹ fell on the twenty-third and it was celebrated, as was customary, with revelry.

On Saturday the seventeenth of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah Ibn-Marzūq was murdered in Cairo, by Ibn-al-Manūfi, Qāḍi of Bilbays,

unawares, in the house in which he lived in al-Fahādīn (in Cairo). The assassin dug a hole in the house and buried Ibn Marzūq in it with a young slave, afterwards paving over it and placing on it a grating. But Ibn-al-Manūfi was later hanged, after being paraded on a camel through Miṣr and Cairo.

In this year al-ʿĀdil marched from Damascus to the city of Māridīn, besieging it and capturing its outer parts. Al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn-al-ʿĀdil set out from Ḥarrān and fought the army of Mosul. The Franks made incursions, pillaging and taking a number of prisoners, and reaching Acre. Al-ʿĀdil returned to Damascus in the month of Ramaḍān [7th July–5th August], and left a month later for the east, intending to reach Māridīn. Muʿizz-al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn-Sayf-al-Islām Ṭughtikīn, ruler of the Yemen, in the middle of the day claimed to be God, and wrote a letter which he superscribed as from the seat of God. But he retracted this and arrogated to himself the caliphate, declaring that he was of Umayyad stock. He had himself proclaimed caliph throughout his realm, and interdicted the delivery of the *khutbah* in the name of the ʿAbbāsids. He clothed himself in green robes and a gold embroidered green turban, compelled the people of the covenant³⁰ to embrace Islam, and ordered the *khutbah* to be said in his name. He designed to march on Mecca, and despatched men who should build him a habitation there, but the Sharīf Abū-ʿAzīz Qatādah threw them into prison.

The Year 595 (A.H.)

[3rd November, 1198–22nd October, 1199]

As the new year entered, al-ʿĀdil was pressing the siege of Māridīn, and al-Muʿizz, ruler of the Yemen, was preparing to invade Mecca. Al-ʿAzīz, sovereign of Egypt, removed to Alexandria at the end of Dhū-l-Hijjah and went hunting until the seventh of Muḥarram. But while galloping after a wolf he fell from his horse. He rode on, being feverish, and entered Cairo on the tenth day of Muḥarram, lingering until he died in the middle of the night of the twenty-seventh [29th November, 1198].³¹ He was interred beside the Shāfiʿī tomb, God's mercy upon him, being twenty-seven years and some months of age.

The length of his reign had been six years less one month and six days. He was a generous sovereign, just and clement, of good nature and brave, tractable, and excessively bountiful. He had studied the Muslim Traditions of al-Salafī and with Ibn-'Awf and Ibn-Barri, and himself related them. His subjects loved him greatly. He would make donations of ten thousand *dīnārs* and ordered great feasts to be spread and collect the people to partake of them. But when they sat down to eat, they made his food loathesome to him so that he had no taste for it; this was one of the singular features of his character.

In this year³² an insurrection broke out among the troops of Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Muḥammad (ibn-Bahā'-al-Dīn Sām), the Ghūrid sovereign, because Ghiyāth-al-Dīn had shown excessive liberality toward the Imām Fakhr-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-'Umar al-Rāzi,³³ and had a college built for him beside the mosque of Herat. Now the greater part of the people of that city were Karrāmites;³⁴ and resolving to discuss the matter with him, they assembled with him before Ghiyāth-al-Dīn. Their leader was the Qāḍi Majd-al-Dīn 'Abd-al-Majīd ibn-'Umar ibn-al-Qudwah. The Imām Fakhr-al-Dīn harangued Ibn-al-Qudwah at great length and reviled him. But al-Qudwah did not try to better him save to say: "You should not do so, Sir. May God not blame thee." Al-Malik Ḍiyā'-al-Dīn was greatly enraged with him, and charged the Imām (al-Rāzi) with Manichaeism [*zandaqah*] and with following the way of the philosophers [i.e., the reconciling of Greek philosophy with Islam].

The next day Ibn-'Umar ibn-al-Qudwah rose in the mosque for the *khutbah* and said: "Our Lord! We believe in what thou hast sent down, and we follow the Messenger [Muḥammad]; write us up, then, with those who bear witness (to him). O ye men, we speak not to you save what has been verified to us by the Messenger of God. As for the science of Aristū [Aristotle], the blasphemies of ibn-Sīna [Avicenna], and the philosophy of al-Farābi [Alpharabius]. we know them not. Why, then, should one of the Shaykhs of Islam be cursed, yesterday, when he was defending the religion of God and the way of His Prophet?" With this he was moved, and moved others, to tears. The people rose up from all directions and filled the city with tumult. But the Sultan Ghiyāth-al-Dīn

silenced them, and commanded the Imām Fakhr-al-Dīn to return to Herat, whither he departed. Ghiyāth-al-Dīn, King of the Ghūrids, then abandoned the Karrāmi doctrine and embraced that of al-Shāfi'ī—God's mercy upon him.

CHAPTER 3

The Reign of al-Manṣūr, Son of al-‘Azīz

The Sultan Al-Malik al-Manṣūr

Nāṣir-al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of al-Malik al-‘Azīz ‘Imād-al-Dīn ‘Uthman, son of the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-Ayyūb.

This prince was born in Cairo on the . . . [lacuna in text] of Jumādā al-Ulā in the year 585 [17th June–16th July, 1189], and his father died when he was but nine years and some months old. His father had named him as his successor, and the Emir Bahā’-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh al-Asadi as controller of affairs. He was seated upon the throne of state on the day that followed his father’s death, Monday the twenty-first of Muḥarram, and Qarāqūsh was made atabeg. All the emirs swore allegiance to the new sultan save his two uncles, al-Malik al-Mu’ayyad Najm-al-Dīn Mas‘ūd and al-Malik al-Mu‘izz. They had wished the atabeg-ship to be bestowed upon them, and provoked dispute, but at last gave the oath. Then the officers of the state began to stir up contention. Some alleged that Qarāqūsh was unsteady in his views and illiberal and unfit for this office. Others adhered to him, deeming him more able than others. The dispute mounted, and they turned to the Qāḍi al-Fāḍil for his opinion, but he declined to advise them, and they left him. For three days they debated and in the end agreed to write to al-Malik al-Afḍal that he might come as atabeg in place of Qarāqūsh. They laid down these conditions: that he should not fly the *sanjaq* about his head; that his name should not be mentioned in the *khutbah* or on the coinage; and that he should act for al-Malik al-Manṣūr for a period of seven years and at the conclusion of this term should surrender the government to al-Manṣūr. These proposals they sent to al-Afḍal by special envoys. Al-Malik al-Zāfir Muẓaffar-al-Dīn Khidr, son of the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn was appointed regent until al-Afḍal

should arrive. Al-Afḍal set out from Şarkhad two nights before the end of the month of Şafar, accompanied by nineteen persons. He was in disguise, being in fear of al-ʿĀdil.

When the emirs of Egypt had decided for al-Afḍal, and had written to him to come to them, the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas was much vexed and despatched a letter to the Emir Fāris-al-Dīn Maymūn al-Qaşri, lord of Nablus, to warn him against consenting to the setting up of al-Afḍal. But al-Afḍal happened to encounter the messenger, and took the missive from him. Learning its contents, he said to the carrier: "Return, for thou hast discharged thine errand." Al-Afḍal continued on his way, the messenger with him, and came to Bilbīs. The emirs had come out to meet him, the date being the fifth of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir. He alighted at the tent of his brother al-Malik al-Muʿayyad. Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas had hoped that he would stay in his tent, therefore this act of al-Afḍal gave him disquiet. But he could do no other than visit al-Afḍal who received him generously. When al-Afḍal had ended his meal with his brother he moved to the tent of Fakhr-al-Dīn and ate his food. Then the glance of Fakhr-al-Dīn fell upon the messenger he had despatched to Nablus. He was dumbfounded, and being filled with fear of al-Afḍal, began to beg leave of him that he might go to the contending Arab tribes and make peace between them. Al-Afḍal consented, and Fakhr-al-Dīn rose immediately. He met with Zayn-al-Dīn Qarājā and Asad-al-Dīn Sāra Sunqur, and departed with them in all haste to Jerusalem. They encountered Shujāʿ-al-Dīn Ṭughril, the Master of the Armory,¹ journeying to Egypt, turned him away from al-Afḍal, and led him with them to Jerusaem. The Emir Şārim-al-Dīn Şāliḥ, governor of Jerusalem, also joined them, as did the emirs ʿIzz-al-Dīn Usāmah and Maymūn al-Qaşri who both went to Jerusalem, Maymūn bringing along seven hundred picked horsemen. Together these emirs wrote to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, calling upon him to become al-Malik al-Manşūr's atabeg.

Al-Afḍal, meantime, had moved from Bilbīs to Cairo, and al-Manşūr went out to meet him on the seventh of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir [6th March, 1199]. He had now been on the throne for two months and . . . [lacuna]. Al-Afḍal assumed control of the government; when he had installed himself in Cairo, he

wrote to his uncle al-'Ādil informing him of his arrival in Egypt to protect his nephew's kingdom and that he would carry out what he had been commanded to do. Al-'Ādil replied: "If al-'Azīz made a will before his death it should not be altered; if on the other hand, he died intestate the elders of the realm should record their votes in your respect so that we may know the general view."

And so it came to pass that al-Afdal governed Egypt in actual fact, leaving to al-Manṣūr nothing but the title. He designed to arrest the Ṣalāḥī emirs who remained (in Egypt). Some were able to flee and join Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas in Jerusalem, but al-Afdal seized a number of them, among them being the Emirs 'Alā'-al-Dīn Shaqīr, 'Izz-al-Dīn al-Bakī al-Fāris, 'Izz-al-Dīn Aybak Fuṭīs, and Khuṭluba; their properties he impounded. He then repaired to Birkat al-Jubb, where he stayed for four months and where the emirs and the soldiers gave him the oath. There he learned that his brother al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad planned to attack him, to seize him, and to imprison him.

Then al-Malik al-Zāhir (Ghāzi, ruler of Aleppo) sent word to his brother al-Afdal urging him to move speedily from Egypt to Damascus and to seize the chance of capturing it.² The Ṣalāḥīs intercepted the messenger, but thinking him to be of little importance released him, whereupon he journeyed on to al-Afdal and informed him of the message of his brother al-Zāhir. Al-Afdal moved from Birkat al-Jubb on the third of Rajab, accompanied by al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and tarried at 'Abbasah³ five days. As his lieutenant in Cairo he appointed (Sayf-al-Dīn) Yāzkuj (al-Asadi). He then advanced to Damascus, and encamped outside it on the thirteenth of Sha'bān.

Al-'Ādil, meanwhile, had heard of al-Afdal's departure from Egypt while he was besieging Māridīn, and leaving his son al-Kāmil Muḥammad to continue the siege, left with two hundred horsemen for Damascus; he arrived there with only eight, such had been the speed of his march, but (two days)⁴ before al-Afdal, and was joined by his followers. Al-Afdal then moved on and besieged al-Sharafayn and al-Maydān al-Akhḍar [the Green Arena]. A number of his troops flung themselves upon the town and burned it, crying, "Long live Afdal. Long live Manṣūr." The crowd took up the cry with them because

of their leaning toward al-Afdal. But al-ʿĀdil confronted these troops and drove them from the town and denied it to them. Some of al-Afdal's emirs then deserted him, for which reason he withdrew from Damascus to the neighborhood of al-Kiswah.

Al-ʿĀdil then hinted to certain of al-Afdal's officers the sentiment: "I wish to return to the east and leave Syria and Egypt to the sons of my brother." On this account they turned al-Afdal away from waging war, while al-ʿĀdil gave them money with a lavish hand, for he had gained his way by deceiving them. They ruined al-Afdal by counseling him to put off fighting until his brother al-Ẓāhir should come from Aleppo. While al-Afdal thus for a period abstained from battle, al-ʿĀdil was writing to the emirs and winning them by degrees, being lavish and profuse to them. At last, at the end of the month Sha'bān [26th June], al-Ẓāhir arrived from Aleppo, thus strengthening al-Afdal, and the two marched on to the Masjid al-Qadam [The Mosque of the Foot].⁵

They joined battle with al-ʿĀdil and besieged him so sorely that food became dear in Damascus. The Ṣalāḥīs then arrived from Jerusalem to aid al-ʿĀdil. Their arrival gave powerful support to that prince, who despatched troops to Jerusalem to intercept the convoy of supplies that was moving from Egypt to al-Afdal. They encountered Yāzkuj, who had set out with seven hundred men of the Egyptian army as a reinforcement to al-Afdal, and fell upon him and his soldiers, breaking them and seizing what they had with them. The citizens of Damascus suffered much from the dearness of commodities, and al-ʿĀdil was compelled to obtain a loan and to take money from merchants. Exhaustion so increased over the city that it was on the point of capture, and al-ʿĀdil was pondering surrender when dissension broke out between al-Ẓāhir and his brother al-Afdal.

The Year 596 (A.H.)

[23rd October, 1199–11th October, 1200]

As this year opened, the two brothers were besieging their uncle al-ʿĀdil in Damascus. The orchards and dwellings of that city had been ravaged, its water channels cut, and its crops

burned, and food had become extremely scarce. Al-'Ādil considered yielding, because of the number of deserters who joined al-Afdal. He wrote to his son al-Kāmil invoking his assistance, and to the governor of the fortress of Ja'bar instructing him to give to al-Kāmil whatever monies he should demand, for the treasury of al-'Ādil was in that place. Al-Kāmil marched with his army to Ja'bar, and taking from it four hundred thousand *dīnārs*, moved on to his father; his arrival was a potent reinforcement. At the same time al-Afdal's and al-Zāhir's armies weakened on account of the number who abandoned them.

Al-'Ādil also cunningly instilled rancor between the brothers. It seems that al-Zāhir possessed a mameluke called Aybak for whom he felt a passionate love. But he lost him, and thought that he had entered Damascus and been hanged. Al-'Ādil heard of this and sent word to al-Zāhir, saying: "It was Maḥmūd ibn al-Shukri who corrupted your mameluke and took him to al-Afdal." Immediately al-Zāhir arrested Ibn-al-Shukri, and the mameluke was discovered at his place. Al-Zāhir did not doubt the truth of what his uncle had said, and shunned his brother and abstained from meeting him.

The cold had now set in, and the brothers moved to al-Kiswah, then to Marj al-Ṣuffar, and thence to Ra's al-Mā'. Prices rose, and the cold increased. Al-Zāhir departed to al-Qaryatayn, and al-Afdal left for Egypt. The baggage they could not carry they left behind and burned, while a number of their mamelukes and beasts perished. Al-Afdal entered Bilbīs on the twenty-fifth of Rabī' al-Awwal [14th January, 1200], and he was counseled to remain there.

Then came tidings that al-'Ādil had quitted Damascus and encamped at Tell al-'Ajūl, and that he had issued the customary military provisions [*iqāmāt*] to the Bedouin soldiery and called the Kinānīyah soldiery to service. Al-Afdal thereupon assembled his emirs and rode around the walls of Bilbīs. He instructed Qarāqūsh to put the Citadel of the Mount in a state of defense and to attend particularly to the digging of the remaining parts of the walls of Miṣr and Cairo. He was to dig until he reached the rock, throwing the earth up inwards toward the city and beside the fosse to form a sort of bastion. He might

use oxen, and should work between the river and the fortress of al-Maqs, so that there should be no other way to the town save through its gates.

On the second of Rabī' al-Ākhir [21st January], al-'Ādil encamped at Qaṭyah.⁶ Meanwhile al-Afḍal had pondered putting Bilbīs to the flames, and men's hearts turned from him. He had also cut off the allowance of provisions customarily granted by the Sultan to the mercenaries, as well as the endowment set up for the benefit of Mecca and Medina and the maintenance of the theological lawyers [*faqīhs*] and the turbaned class, doing so in order to fulfill his contract with his soldiers. But even this did not settle his debt; the demands of the troops did not cease, and clamor rose among the inhabitants. At this conjuncture al-'Ādil arrived and al-Afḍal gave him battle but was defeated and put to flight. Al-'Ādil pursued him to Birkat al-Jubb, where he encamped for eight days. Al-Afḍal reached Cairo and entered it on Tuesday the seventh of Rabī' al-Ākhir [26th January], but certain of his supporters abandoned him and went to al-'Ādil. Necessity compelled al-Afḍal to send to al-'Ādil asking of him to cede to him Damascus in return for Egypt. But al-'Ādil declined, and said: "Do not compel me to violate the honor of Cairo,⁷ and to take it by the sword. Begone to Şarkhad, secure in thy life."

Al-Afḍal could do naught but surrender, for his followers had forsaken him. And so al-'Ādil occupied Cairo, making his entry on Saturday the eighteenth of Rabī' al-Ākhir [6th February], on which day al-Afḍal fled from the city. The vizir Ḍiyā'al-Dīn ibn-al-Athīr had come to Egypt and gained an ascendancy over al-Afḍal. When al-'Ādil took possession of Cairo, the vizir fled to Şarkhad. Al-Afḍal had been in control of Egypt for a period of one year and thirty-eight days. He departed to the east, and settled at Sumaysāt. Throughout all the time of his stay in Cairo he had never been able, by night or by day, to be alone by himself; and the emirs had also denied him access to any single person. He was forced to seek their consent in all things.

In this manner al-'Ādil was established in Cairo as atabeg of al-Malik al-Manşūr. The emirs took an oath to assist him as atabeg to al-Manşūr until such time as that prince should

be fit to govern the kingdom. But this did not come to pass . . . [lacuna] and the compact was broken on the twenty-first of Shawwāl when al-'Ādil summoned a number of his emirs and said to them: "It is an outrage that I, at my age and rank, should be atabeg to a boy. Kingship is not for inheritance but for the conqueror. I should have succeeded my brother, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, but this I renounced for the sake of my brother and the welfare of his subjects. But then occurred the dissensions which you know of, and I feared that dominion would pass from my hands and from the hands of my brother's sons. I therefore steered affairs toward their end, seeing no other course but to assume direction myself, and to assume the burden. Yet when I took up the ruling of this land and disposed myself to the atabeg-ship of this lad until he should reach man's estate, I observed that factions remained and that the discord had not ended. I could not be sure that what happened to al-Malik al-Afdāl would not happen to me, and that a group would not form to demand that another be set in my place. None can foretell the consequence of that. My idea is that this boy should go to school [*kuttāb*]; and that I shall appoint those who will edify and instruct him. When he has become fitted and has reached manhood, I shall examine his case and rise to his interest."

The Asadis were all with al-'Ādil in this view, and there were none who openly opposed them in according with him. They therefore gave him the oath of fealty and deposed al-Manṣūr on Thursday; and on the following day, Friday the twenty-first of Shawwāl [4th August, 1200] the *khutbah* was said in the name of al-'Ādil. The reign of al-Manṣūr had lasted one year, eight months, and twenty days.

CHAPTER 4

The Reign of al-'Ādil (Saphadin), Brother of Saladin

*The Sultan al-Malik al-'Ādil
Sayf-al-Dīn Abū Bakr
Ibn-Ayyūb*

When the emirs had taken the oath to him, al-'Ādil assumed the sovereignty of Egypt on the 21st of Shawwāl [4th August, 1200], and the *khutbah* was pronounced in his name in Egypt, in Syria, in Harrān, in Edessa, and in Mayyāfāriqīn. The peoples of these lands swore allegiance to him, and the coinage was struck in his name. He summoned his son, al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir-al-Dīn Muḥammad, and this prince arrived in Cairo on Thursday, eight days before the end of Ramaḍān [6th July, 1200]. Al-'Ādil appointed him viceroy of Egypt and gave the eastern provinces in fief to him which had been enfeoffed to al-'Ādil in the time of the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn. He named al-Kāmil his successor, and the emirs gave him the oath.

In this year the intercessory prayers were offered in al-'Ādil's behalf in the *khutbah* at Ḥamāh and Aleppo, and coinage was struck in his name. In this year also the Nile's annual flood stopped short, reaching only thirteen cubits less three fingers. Most of the land of Egypt was therefore parched, and prices rose.

In this year al-'Ādil appointed his son al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Sharaf-al-Dīn 'Īsā as his viceroy in Damascus, and in the eastern provinces he nominated his son al-Malik al-Fā'iz. In Aleppo he placed his nephew al-Malik al-Zāhir (Ghāzi ibn-Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn), and in Ḥamāh al-Malik al-Manṣūr (ibn-Taqī-al-Dīn 'Umar).¹

In this year too al-'Ādil drove his nephew's son al-Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn-al-'Azīz 'Uthmān ibn-Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn out of Egypt and with him his brother and sisters (and his mother).² They went to Syria, whence al-'Ādil removed them to

Edessa from which they fled to Aleppo. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr, however, remained in the city of Edessa until his death in the year 620 [A.D. 1223]. He had been an emir in the service of al-Zāhir, the ruler of Aleppo.

This year there died: Ibrāhīm ibn-Manṣūr ibn-al-Musallam Abū-Ishāq, known as the ‘Irāqī, preacher in the old Mosque in Miṣr, on the twenty-first of Jumādā al-Ulā, being eighty-six years old; al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil ‘Abd-al-Raḥīm ibn-‘Ali ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Aḥmad ibn-al-Faraj ibn-Aḥmad al-Lakhmi, an Ascalonian by birth but called the Baysānī,³ and father of ‘Ali Muḥyi-al-Dīn, on the seventh of Rabī‘ al-Ākhir; and al-Athīr Dhū-l-Riyāsatayn Abū-l-Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn-Dhī-l-Riyāsatayn Abū-l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Banān al-Anbārī, on the night of the third of Rabī‘ al-Ākhir, having been born in Cairo in the year 507.

In this year a child was born in Cairo with one body but a head with two faces, each face having two eyes, two ears, a nose and eyebrows. Another was born with a blaze on the forehead like that of a horse, and with white hair on the hands and feet like a horse, and with piebald haunches. Yet another was born with white hair on its head. A ewe was born with four forefeet and four hind. In the womb of a slaughtered ewe was found a lamb with breast and face resembling a man’s and with human fingernails.

The Year 597 (A.H.)

[12th October, 1200–31st September, 1201]

This year al-Malik al-‘Ādil arrested the sons of his brother Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn: al-Malik al-Mu‘ayyad Mas‘ūd and (al-Malik) al-Mu‘izz Ishāq, and imprisoned them in the house of Bahā’-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh in Cairo. The Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn seized (the fortress of) Banyās from the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn Bishārah after a siege and combat.

In this year estrangement arose between al-‘Ādil and the Ṣalāḥī emirs because he had deposed al-Manṣūr, son of al-‘Azīz. The Emir Fāris-al-Dīn Maymūn al-Qaṣri wrote from Nablus to al-‘Ādil reprobating the deposal. Al-‘Ādil replied in harsh words, and more letters passed between them. Maymūn then

wrote to the Ṣalāḥis, inciting them against al-ʿĀdil, but they displayed no wish to resist.

Meanwhile discord arose between al-Zāhir, prince of Aleppo, and his uncle al-ʿĀdil. Al-Zāhir despatched his vizir ʿAlam-al-Dīn Qayṣar and Niẓām-al-Dīn to al-ʿĀdil, but al-ʿĀdil forbade their crossing into Cairo and ordered them to remain in Bilbīs. They encharged the qāḍi of Bilbīs with their communications and turned back much indignant. At Nablus they met with Maymūn al-Qaṣri and remained with him until he inclined toward al-Afḍal and his brother al-Zāhir. When at last they reached Aleppo, al-Zāhir was greatly offended at his uncle's actions and wrote to the Ṣalāḥis to draw them to him, as he also did write to Maymūn al-Qaṣri. Al-Afḍal as well wrote to him from Ṣarkhad. The Emir ʿIzz-al-Dīn Usāmah, lord of ʿAjlūn and of Kawkab, joined al-Afḍal and swore his allegiance. News of this reached al-ʿĀdil, who at once took precautions. He wrote to his son, al-Muʿaẓẓam, instructing him to besiege al-Afḍal in Ṣarkhad. Al-Muʿaẓẓam assembled his army and set out for Damascus. Leaving his brother al-Malik al-Zāfir Khidr as his lieutenant in Ṣarkhad, al-Afḍal repaired to his brother al-Zāhir in Aleppo on the tenth of Jumādā al-Ulā [16th February, 1200].

Al-Muʿaẓẓam pitched camp at Buṣra, and wrote to Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas and Maymūn al-Qaṣri commanding them to come to him to besiege Ṣarkhad. But they gave him no reply, and, collecting those who agreed with them, joined al-Zāfir at Ṣarkhad. They also wrote to al-Zāhir in Aleppo urging him to march and seize Damascus. Their letters reached him while al-Afḍal was with him, and he assembled his troops and set forth. Al-Manṣūr, lord of Ḥamāh, was not in agreement with him, and even besieged him for a time but withdrew without achieving any advantage. Al-Zāhir laid siege to Damascus with al-Afḍal and the Ṣalāḥis joined him there.

Meantime al-ʿĀdil had issued forth with his army from Cairo, leaving there his son al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad, and encamped outside Nablus. He sent a column of his troops ahead who moved on to Damascus and took possession of it before the arrival of al-Afḍal and al-Zāhir. These princes reached the city later and laid siege to it on the fourteenth of Dhū-l-Qaʿdah

[16th August], pressing the attack until they almost took the place. But dissension broke out between them on account of a ruse devised by al-'Ādil, and their will to fight cooled and diminished. Al-'Ādil, it would seem, had written separately and privily to al-Afdal and to al-Zāhir saying: "Your brother does not want Damascus save for himself, and has secretly agreed with the army to that end." The brothers were deceived by this stratagem; each demanded of the other that Damascus should belong to him, and each refused the other. Al-'Ādil secretly wrote further to al-Afdal restoring to him the lands in the east that had formerly been assigned to him: Ra's al-'Ayn, al-Khābur, and Mayyāfāriqīn. With this he granted a yearly allowance from Egypt of fifty thousand *dīnārs*. Al-Afdal was completely deceived, and said to the Ṣalāḥī emirs and the soldiers who had joined him: "If you have come on my behalf, I give you leave to return to al-Malik al-'Ādil. But if you came for my brother's cause, well, you know more of him." They all loved al-Afdal because of his gentle character, and said to him: "We want no other than you; and al-'Ādil is dearer to us than your brother." He thereupon permitted them to return to al-'Ādil; and the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas, the Emir Zayn-al-Dīn Qarājā, 'Alā-al-Dīn Shaqīr, al-Ḥajjāf, and Sa'd-al-Dīn ibn-'Alam-al-Dīn Qayṣar repaired to that prince. The fighting became languid and less, where once the besiegers had been on the point of taking Damascus. The year ended with al-Afdal and al-Zāhir investing Damascus.

There was a famine this year in Egypt. Prices rose and became so excessive that people began to eat the dead, or each other, upon which followed great mortality. Prices commenced to rise at the beginning of the year, and each *irdabb* of wheat reached the price of five *dīnārs*. It continued for three successive years, throughout which time the Nile rose only very little, so that eventually there was no food. Many men left Egypt with their families and children for Damascus, but died on the road from hunger. Death despatched rich and poor alike, and in a short time al-'Ādil buried 220,000. All the dogs were devoured, and even a great number of children. Fathers roasted their dead children and ate them, and this act, on account of its frequency, was not condemned. The people began to practice

deceptions one upon the other, seizing whom they could and devouring them, the strong overcoming the weak and slaughtering and eating them. Many physicians were lost, since they received many calls to attend the sick; when a physician went to a house he was killed and eaten. It happened that a certain person called out a physician; the physician feared him, but accompanied him with much trepidation. On the way this person repeatedly called on God, and could not pass a poor man without giving him alms. This until they reached the house, which was a ruin. The physician was dumbfounded at what he saw, and even as he prepared to enter the place a man emerged and cried to the person who had brought him: "After all this delay you bring only one victim of the hunt?" The physician took alarm and headlong fled, and but for God's protection and the fleetness of his feet would have been seized.

The cities of Cairo and Miṣr became empty of most of their peoples. There could not be found men to bury the dead, and months would pass until at last the corpses were devoured or perished from decay. The intermission of the Nile's rising had commenced in the year '96. People were greatly afraid. A considerable number of villagers entered Cairo and Miṣr. When the sun entered the sign of Aries (in the Zodiac) there rose a wind which was followed by a plague. Hunger increased and food was wanting so that the young were eaten, the father devouring his son, roasted or boiled, and the mother doing likewise. The magistrates apprehended a number of such persons and punished them, but had little success and all their efforts to stop the practice were thwarted. The situation became most grievous. Women were found with the shoulders or thighs of children concealed in their bosoms, as were men. Others would enter a neighbor's house and, finding the pot on the fire and waiting until they should eat from it, discover its contents to be infants' flesh. This was most found in the better houses. Men and women were seen in the markets and streets with infants' flesh. In less than two months thirty women were burned for such flesh having been found on them. The habit spread until people took it for their midday and evening meals, and became accustomed to it, while few sought to hinder

them, for they could find no food, neither of grain nor of vegetables.

Before the rise of the Nile in the year 596, in the month of Barmūdah,⁴ the river was so dry that there was no water between the Nilometer and al-Jīzah, and the taste and odor of the remaining water changed. The level was two cubits, and it commenced to rise by slow degrees until the sixteenth of the month of Misra.⁵ It rose a finger, stopped, then rose strongly, the most being a cubit at a time, until it reached fifteen cubits and sixteen fingers. But it fell the same day so that no benefit arrived from it. Meanwhile the loss of life had been so great that in a village of five hundred souls only two or three remained. None could be found to tend the dykes, and in the villages were none to labor. Cattle were wanting, and a head would sell at seventy *dīnārs*, even a lean one at sixty. The streets of Miṣr and Cairo were empty, as were their villages. The worms consumed what was sown, and even from the plants and seeds came nothing that would give a harvest.

The year 597 had come in with the people eating babes, this food becoming natural and customary with them, and the magistrates being wearied of correcting them. Wheat, if it could be found, cost eight *dīnārs* an *irdabb*, barley and beans six. Poultry were entirely lacking throughout Egypt; one man brought some from Syria and sold each chicken for a hundred *dirhams*, and two eggs for a *dirham*. All the ovens were fueled from the wood of dwelling houses, and many decent citizens would go forth at night to take the wood of deserted houses and sell it by day. The streets of Cairo and Miṣr had few inhabited houses, and in Miṣr there were none save on the river banks. In the villages the inhabitants would go out to till, and the men would die as they held the plow. In this year a youth of about ten years came to Cairo of the Bedouin tribe of al-Ḥawf in Mesopotamia, a youth of a handsome brown color, but who had on his belly pure white stripes of symmetrical proportions from top to bottom, being perfect stripes. And in this year died in Cairo (the Emir Bahā'-al-Dīn) Qarāqūsh al-Asadi at the time of the new moon in the month of Rajab; he was buried at the foot of Mount Muqaṭṭam.

*The Year 598 (A.H.)**[1st October, 1201–19th September, 1202]*

At the beginning of the month of Muḥarram, al-Afdal and al-Zāhir raised the siege of Damascus. Al-Zāhir returned to Aleppo with a number of Ṣalāḥi emirs, including Fāris-al-Dīn Mayūm al-Qaṣri, Sarā Sunqur, and Fāris al-Bakki, to whom he granted fiefs and showed much liberality. Al-Afdal repaired to Ḥimṣ, where his mother and his family were with al-Malik al-Mujāhid. Al-ʿĀdil moved to Damascus and took up residence in the citadel, but then moved thence to Ḥamāh, where he encamped with his troops. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr took over the discharge of all al-ʿĀdil's expenditure and disbursements. Al-ʿĀdil seemed to intend to march on Aleppo, which alarmed al-Zāhir, who prepared to encounter him. But al-ʿĀdil dispatched splendid gifts to him and propitiated him, and peace was arranged between them. Al-ʿĀdil was to get Egypt, Damascus, the coast of Syria, Jerusalem, and all the eastern provinces he and his sons possessed; al-Zāhir received Aleppo and its dependencies; al-Manṣūr, Ḥamāh and its provinces; al-Mujāhid, Ḥimṣ, al-Raḥbah,⁶ and Palmyra; al-Amjad, Baalbek and its provinces; and al-Afdal Sumaysāt [Samosata] and its lands but no more. Al-ʿĀdil was to be Sultan over the whole land. All the princes swore to this arrangement, and on Friday the eleventh of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [8th March] the *khutbah* was said in Aleppo in the name of al-ʿĀdil. Al-Afdal was given in fief the fortress of al-Najm⁷ and Sarūj⁸ and Sumaysāt.

Al-ʿĀdil despatched his son (al-Malik) al-Ashraf Muẓaffar-al-Dīn Mūsā to (al-Jazīrah)⁹ to take over Ḥarrān and Edessa and their dependencies and settle in al-Jazīrah. Al-Awḥad Ayyūb, al-Ashraf's brother, was installed in Mayyāfāriqīn. The Sultan appointed his son al-Ḥāfiz Nūr-al-Dīn Arslān as governor of the fortress of Ja'bar and his other son, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Sharaf-al-Dīn ʿĪsā, he established in Damascus. Al-ʿĀdil himself returned from Ḥamāh to Damascus. Thus did concord come to the family of the Ayyūbids.

In this year al-Mu'izz Ismā'il ibn-Sayf-al-Islām Zāhir-al-Dīn Ṭuḡtikīn ibn-Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb was murdered. It happened in this manner. When he became sovereign of the Yemen after

his father, the Sharīf 'Abdullāh al-Ḥasani rebelled against him. Then some eight hundred of his mamelukes revolted, and held out against him in Ṣan'ā'. But he defeated them, and drove them from the city. He assumed divinity, and ordained that he should be described accordingly in his correspondence. On his letters was written: "This rescript emanates from the Divine Abode." But he came to apprehend (the disgust of) the people and so claimed (instead) the caliphate, tracing his lineage back to the Umayyads and taking green as his armorial color, and dressing in the caliphial robes. He made the length of sleeves twenty-five spans and the width six. He suppressed the name of the 'Abbasids in the *khutbah*; instead it was said in his name in the pulpits of the Yemen, and he himself delivered the *khutbah* on a Friday.

When this news reached his uncle al-'Ādil, he despatched someone to reprove him, but al-Mu'izz did not heed his words, and added even more evil ways and abominable beliefs. Then his father's mamelukes rose against him because of his folly and shedding of blood, and fought and killed him. They stuck his head on a lance and went with it through the towns of Yemen. Zabīd they sacked throughout nine days. Al-Mu'izz was killed on the fourteenth of Rajab [9th April] in the year 598. He was succeeded by his brother al-Nāṣir Ayyūb—surnamed Muḥammad—and Sayf-al-Dīn Sunqur was designated atabeg of his army. Sunqur afterwards seized power.

Throughout this year prices soared high in Egypt, but when the Nile rose, the land was watered and prices fell.

The Year 599 (A.H.)

[20th September, 1202–9th September, 1203]

This year the Franks arrived at Acre, and the Sicilians set out to invade Egypt. Five hundred horsemen and one hundred foot soldiers arrived from Aleppo as reinforcements for al-'Ādil in Damascus. From Nāṣir-al-Dīn Mankūris, son of Khamāratikīn, prince of Saḥyūn, came a letter giving tidings that the Prince of the Armenians¹⁰ had encamped at al-Jisr al-Ḥadīd¹¹ for the purpose of attacking Antioch. He also reported that the Franks had withdrawn from Acre by sea; that only those who

were unfit to travel remained in the city, in which the price of commodities was extremely high.

In this year al-Ashraf Mūsā, son of al-ʿĀdil, laid siege for a while to Māridīn together with al-Afdal. But peace was concluded on the condition that (the lord of Māridīn, Nāṣir-al-Dīn Arslān al-Urtuqī)¹² should pay the sum of 150,000 Tyrean [Ṣūri]¹³ *dīnārs* to al-ʿĀdil, that the *khutbah* prayer of intercession (in his city) should be for the Sultan, and that coinage should be struck in the Sultan's name. Al-Ashraf thereupon returned to Harrān.

This year al-ʿĀdil removed al-Malik al-Manṣūr, son of al-ʿAzīz, from Egypt to Edessa together with his mother and brothers, for he was afraid of his following.¹⁴ This year, too, al-ʿĀdil commenced building a barbican wall of stone and mortar round the walls of Damascus, and deepening the fosse and bringing water into it. A column of his troops left for Cairo to protect Damietta from the Franks.

This year the Franks of Tripoli and Ḥiṣn al-Akrād¹⁵ marched upon the city of Ḥamāh. But al-Manṣūr rode against them on the third of Ramaḍān [16th May] and engaged them, putting them to flight and taking many prisoners; then he returned victorious. Then came news of the advent of some seventy thousand Franks by sea to Acre, and that they were trying to reach an agreement with the Armenians to wage war against the Muslims. In this month of Ramaḍān, too, a force of Hospitallers from Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and al-Marqab [Margat] took the field. Al-Manṣūr came out to meet them and slew great numbers of them, captured some, and put the rest to flight.

This year al-ʿĀdil learned that al-Malik al-Afdal ʿAlī, his brother's son, had been in correspondence with the emirs. He accordingly commanded his son, al-Ashraf (Mūsā) to dispossess him of Ra's al-ʿAyn and Sarūj, and instructed al-Zāhir to take the fortress of Najm from him. This they did, and only Samosata remained in al-Afdal's hands. Al-Afdal thereupon sent his mother to al-ʿĀdil to win his clemency; she came before the Sultan in Damascus, but he rejected her intercessions and she returned without having any success. This was meant to be a lesson. For when Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn had been besieging Mosul, some women of the Atabeg dynasty, among them the daughter of Nūr-al-Dīn

Maḥmūd ibn-Zangi, had come forth to implore him to leave Mosul in the hands of ‘Izz-al-Dīn Mas‘ūd. But Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn refused them, and sent them away empty-handed. And now Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn was requited by treating his son al-Afdal ‘Ali in like manner, for his mother now returned, too, with empty hands from al-‘Ādil. When al-Afdal heard of his uncle’s refusal to accede to his mother’s request, he suppressed his name in the *khutbah*, and, instead, blessings were invoked for the Saljūq Sultan Rukn-al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn-Qilij Arslān of Rūm.

In this year the waters of the Nile rose exceedingly, and prices fell.

Also in this year the Hāshimite dynasty in Mecca was extinguished.¹⁶ Ḥanṣalah, son of Qatādah ibn-Idrīs ibn-Muṭā‘in, descended on Mecca from Yanbu’, and drove Mukthir ibn-‘Īsā ibn-Fulaytah to Nakhlah, where he remained until he died in the year A.H. 600. Mukthir’s son Muḥammad attacked Mecca, but he was attacked and put to flight. Qatādah Abū-‘Azīz ibn-Idrīs¹⁷ then arrived himself, and he and his seed were for long years emirs of Mecca.

The Year 600 (A.H.)

[10th September, 1203–28th August, 1204]

In this year peace was concluded between al-‘Ādil and the Franks, and a truce was fixed between them, their armies dispersing. And in this year the son of Leo¹⁸ encamped before Antioch. He made assaults upon the city, and beset its prince¹⁹ in the citadel. But al-Ẓāhir issued forth from Aleppo to his succor, and the son of Leo withdrew. Also in this year al-Ashraf (son of al-‘Ādil) fell upon the army of Mosul, routed it, and laid siege to the city. In the city was the Sultan Nūr-al-Dīn Arslān Shāh ibn-Mas‘ūd ibn-Mawdūd ibn-‘Imād-al-Dīn Zangi, atabeg of Ibn Āqsunqur. Al-Ashraf pillaged the land abominably. He sent the good news to his father, al-‘Ādil, who deemed it exaggerated and not wholly trustworthy, but nevertheless rejoiced exceedingly at it.

This year the Franks seized Constantinople from the Greeks. And at Acre they assembled from all quarters in order to take Jerusalem. Al-‘Ādil marched out of Damascus, having written

to all the princes to demand their aid. He encamped near (Jabal) al-Ṭūr [Mount Tabor], at a short distance from Acre. The Frankish troops lay in the meadows beside Acre. They made an incursion on Kafr Kanna and took those who were there prisoner, and plundered. This year ended with affairs in this state.

Rukn-al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn-Qilij Arslān ibn-Mas'ūd ibn-Qilij Arslān ibn-Sulaymān ibn-Quṭlūmish ibn-Bayghū Arslān ibn-Saljūq, Sultan of Rūm, died this year on the sixth of Dhū'l-Qa'dah [6th July, 1204]. He was succeeded by his son 'Izz-al-Dīn Qilij Arslān, who was tender in years and whose affairs did not prosper.

Al-Ashraf, son of al-'Ādil, returned this year to Ḥarrān by order of his father. Al-'Ādil purposed a journey to Egypt, so his son al-Ashraf came to him, and then took his way back to Ḥarrān.

The same year the Frankish fleet attacked Egypt. It entered the Nile beside Rashīd [now Rosetta] and reached Fuwwah,²⁰ spending five days in pillage. The (Muslim) army that lay before it could not engage it, having no fleet.

The Emir Sharaf-al-Dīn Qarāqūsh (al-Taḳawī) al-Muẓaffarī invaded the Maghrib, but was made prisoner and carried before Ibn-'Abd-al-Mu'min.

There occurred this year a great earthquake which spread over most of Egypt, Syria, al-Jazīrah, the land of the Rūm,²¹ Sicily, Cyprus, Mosul, and Iraq, and reaching even Ceuta in the Maghrib.

And this year the Franks took Constantinople from the Greeks, remaining in it until the Greeks won it back from them in 660 [A.D. 1261].

The Year 601 (A.H.)

[29th August, 1204–17th August, 1205]

This year peace was concluded between al-'Ādil and the Franks, and a truce was decided for a settled period. The Franks had stipulated that Jaffa should go to them, and that Lydda and Ramleh should be divided between them and the Muslims; al-'Ādil agreed to this, and the armies dispersed. Al-'Ādil re-

paired to Cairo, and took up residence in the Vizirial Lodge. His son al-Kāmil remained in the Citadel of the Mount, and commenced to arrange the affairs of Egypt. The Emir ʿIzz-al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Juwaynī, governor [*Wāli*] of Cairo, died this year at the end of the month of Jumādā al-Ulā. It was in this year that the news arrived that Constantinople had been taken from the Greeks by the Franks.

This year the Hospitallers, whose treaty had expired, made a raid in force on Ḥamāh, killing and pillaging before withdrawing. A-Malik al-Manṣūr, ruler of Aleppo, paid a visit to his uncle al-ʿĀdil in Cairo; al-ʿĀdil rejoiced at his coming and entertained him bountifully until he returned after some days. The Franks raided Ḥims, killing and taking prisoners. Al-ʿĀdil departed from Cairo for Birkat al-Jubb, and then returned. The Franks of Tripoli also raided Jabalah and Laodicea, killing many Muslims, and extensively plundering and carrying off captives.

This year the Ṣāhib Ṣafī-al-Dīn ʿAbdullāh ibn-Shukr commenced to incite al-Malik al-ʿĀdil against Abū-Muḥammad Mukhtār ibn-Abū-Muḥammad ibn-Mukhtār, known as Ibn-Qāḍi Dārā, vizir of al-Malik al-Kāmil. Al-ʿĀdil in consequence desired revenge on the vizir and summoned him. But al-Kāmil feared for him, and sent him from Egypt together with his sons, Fakhr-al-Dīn and Shihāb-al-Dīn, to Aleppo, where al-Malik al-Zāhir welcomed them. Then the vizir received a letter from al-Kāmil recalling him to Egypt. He set out, and stopped at ʿAyn al-Mubārakah, outside Aleppo. But suddenly on the night of the twenty-fourth of Dhū-l-Qaʿdah, he was surrounded by fifty horsemen and put to death. To his servants they cried: "Keep your possessions. We wanted only him." News of this reached al-Zāhir, who was aghast. He took to horse himself to witness the scene, and despatched men along all routes, but no information of the assassins could be found. This affair was among the most astonishing ever heard.

The Year 602 (A.H.)

[18th August, 1205–7th August, 1206]

This year al-Asʿad Abū-l-Makārim ibn-Mahdī ibn-Mammāti,

Director [Ṣāhib] of the *Dīwān*, was arrested and hanged by his feet. The Emir 'Abd-al-Karīm, brother of the Qāḍi al-Fāḍil, was also seized and his bond taken for twenty thousand *dīnārs*, which he paid. From Sharaf-al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn-'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Quraysh²² was taken five thousand *dīnārs*. Tāj-al-Dīn ibn-al-Ka'kī controlled the *Dīwān* of the army. The Ṣāhib Ṣafī-al-Dīn 'Abdullāh ibn-'Alī ibn-Shukr al-Faqīh was struck in the face with an inkstand out of revenge and made to bleed.

The Year 603 (A.H.)

[8th August, 1206–27th July, 1207]

This year the attacks of the Franks upon the land were intensified. Al-Malik al-'Ādil left for al-'Abbāsah and then quickly moved to Damascus. Thence he removed to Ḥimṣ, where soldiers came to him from all sides, tens of thousands joining him. It was bruited that he purposed to march on Tripoli, but when the month of Ramaḍān [30th April, 1207] had ended he advanced on Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and laid siege to it, taking five hundred prisoners and plundering. He took possession of another fortress, and then besieged Tripoli. His troops ran loose in its dependent villages. He remained there until some days before Dhū'l-Hijjah, and then returned to Ḥimṣ, for his troops had commenced to murmur. The seigneur of Tripoli then sent emissaries to him seeking peace, and despatched also money and presents as well as returning three hundred prisoners. Peace was concluded at the end of the month of Dhū'l-Hijjah [27th July, 1207].

This year relations became strained between al-'Ādil and his nephew al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, sovereign of Aleppo. Messages were exchanged until their estrangement was healed, and each gave his oath to the other. Al-'Ādil intensified his efforts in destroying the Frankish castles and fortresses. In it too, the Ṣāhib Ibn-Shukr dismissed from office al-Badr ibn-al-Abyaḍ, the qāḍi of the army, and appointed Najm-al-Dīn Khalīl ibn-al-Maṣmūdi in his place. Mānī' ibn-Sulaymān, shaykh of the tribe of Du'ayj, appeared from Ghuzayyah, a place between Baghdad and Mecca. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Salāmah, the qāḍi of Alexandria, died on Wednesday the eighth of Ṣafar of this year.

Al-Ashraf . . . [lacuna] ibn-ʿUthmān al-Aʿawar was banished this year, and his brother ʿĀlam-al-Mulk was cast into prison. The mother of al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, son of al-ʿĀdil, died in Damascus on Friday the twentieth of Rabī ʿal-Awwal, and was buried at the foot of Mount Qāsiyūn.

The Year 604 (A.H.)

[28th July, 1207–15th July, 1208]

Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil returned this year to Damascus, after peace had been concluded between him and the Frankish king at Tripoli. He despatched his Master of the Household [*Ustādār*], the Emir Aldakuz al-ʿĀdili, and the qāḍi of the army Najm-al-Dīn Khalīl al-Maṣmūdī, to the Caliph to request of him the appointments of honor and commission of investiture for the sovereignty of Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Khilāṭ. When the two envoys arrived at Baghdad, the Caliph al-Nāṣir received them graciously and loaded them with favors. He accorded their petition, and sent the Shaykh Shihāb-al-Dīn Abū-ʿUmar ibn-Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbdullāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-ʿAmmūyah al-Suhrawardī with the caliphial appointments of honor for the Ṣāhib Ṣafī-al-Dīn ibn-Shukr. He also bestowed coats of honor on the sons of al-ʿĀdil: al-Muʿazzam, al-Ashraf, and al-Kāmil. When the Caliph's envoy drew near to Aleppo, al-Zāhir went out with his army to meet him and to honor his coming.

The third day after his arrival, a throne was ordered for him and set up. On this he sat to deliver a sermon, al-Zāhir and the dignatories of the realm being seated around him. He then delivered so eloquent an address as to move all hearts and bring tears to the eyes. In his oration he announced that the Caliph had distributed, in Baghdad and other places, food and money to the value of three thousand thousand *dīnārs*.

The envoy departed from Aleppo in the company of the Qāḍi Bahā'-al-Dīn ibn-Shaddād; al-Zāhir had given him three thousand *dīnārs* for distribution when his uncle al-ʿĀdil had put on the robe of honor sent him by the Caliph. Al-Malik al-Mansūr also sent from Ḥamāh a sum for distribution. The soldiers issued forth from Damascus to meet the envoy, and were followed by al-ʿĀdil and his sons al-Ashraf Mūsā and

al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā. All the people came out to witness the scene, and it was a splendid occasion. When the envoy had entered Damascus, al-‘Ādil held audience in the Ridwān Palace and was invested with a dress of honor: it consisted of a gown of black satin with wide gold-embroidered sleeves, a black turban, also gold embroidered, and a gold collar studded with great gems. He was girded with an ornamented sword whose whole scabbard was of gold. He mounted a grey stallion by golden stirrups. Over his head a black standard, on which the Caliphial titles were inscribed in white characters, streamed from a golden pole.

The Qāḍi Ibn-Shaddād then stood forward and scattered the golden pieces, and presented al-‘Ādil with fifty robes of honor. After him, the envoys of the kings distributed their gold. Al-Ashraf and al-Mu‘azzam then put on their dresses of honor, these being a black turban and a black wide-sleeved robe. The Ṣāhib Ṣafī-al-Dīn ibn-Shukr, the vizir, was likewise clothed with a dress of honor. Al-‘Ādil then rode with his sons and his vizir in the vestments of honor bestowed on them by the Caliph, into the decked-out city. They then returned to the citadel, and the city remained decorated for eight days.

The Ṣāhib Ṣafī-al-Dīn read out the commission of investiture (of al-‘Ādil) from the throne, and intercessions were invoked from it for al-‘Ādil as “Shāh-an-Shāh,” “King of Kings,” and “Friend of the Prince of the Faithful.” Throughout the reading the vizir remained standing by the throne, and al-‘Ādil and all the people also stood, in respect for the Caliph. Shihāb-al-Suhrawardī journeyed to Egypt, where he presented the Caliph’s dress of honor to al-Malik al-Kāmil, following the same ceremony as had occurred in Damascus, and then returned to Baghdad.

This year al-‘Ādil ordered the reconstruction of the citadel of Damascus. The towers he allotted to the kings, who built them at their own expense. The empire of al-‘Ādil had extended greatly, and when affairs had become settled he divided it among his sons. To his son al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir-al-Dīn Muḥammad he gave the kingdom of Egypt, appointing to his service the distinguished Qāḍi Fakhr-al-Dīn Miqdām ibn-Shukr. To his son al-Mu‘azzam Sharaf-al-Dīn ‘Īsā he gave the land

between al-ʿArīsh and Ḥimṣ, placing also under his governance the coastal territories that appertained to the Muslims, as well as the Jordan Valley [al-Ghūr], Palestine, Jerusalem, Karak, al-Shawbak, and Ṣarkhad. To his son al-Ashraf Muẓaffar-al-Dīn Mūsā he gave the eastern provinces, being Edessa and its dependencies, Ḥarrān, and other towns. To his son al-Awḥad Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb he gave Khilāt, Mayyāfāriqīn, and those regions. The inhabitants of Khilāt had already written to al-Awḥad, inviting him to be their sovereign and he departed thither from Mayyāfāriqīn and assumed the kingship.

This year al-Malik al-Kāmil completed the construction of the Citadel of the Mount. He moved to it from the Vizirial Lodge in Cairo, and was thus the first of the kings of Egypt to dwell therein. The children and kinsmen of the (Fāṭimid Caliph) al-ʿĀḍid were transferred here, in apartments which were like a prison; and here they remained until they were released in the year 671.

The Emir Dāwūd ibn-al-ʿĀḍid died this year in prison. The Ismāʿīlites asserted that al-ʿĀḍid (the last Fāṭimid Caliph) had named him his successor, and that he was the next Imām (and Caliph). His followers sought leave of al-Kāmil to wail over him and to give him a funeral, and to this he gave consent. The women came out unveiled, and the men in robes of wool and hair, and commenced to bewail and lament him. Then they were joined by those of the Ismāʿīlite propagandists who were in hiding. When their assembly was complete, al-Kāmil sent a party of soldiers against them who robbed them of what they carried and arrested those of them who were known. The prisons were filled with them, and all the properties of those of them who were rich were taken from them. Those who were left took flight, and from that time the Ismāʿīlite cause existed no longer in Egypt, no one thereafter daring to proclaim that creed.

The Year 605 (A.H.)

[16th July, 1208–5th July, 1209]

The Georgians came out this year and pillaged the provinces of Khilāt, taking prisoners and booty. Al-Awḥad did not dare

to leave Khilāṭ to encounter them. When news of this reached al-ʿĀdil, he began to prepare to fight the Georgians. Al-Ashraf departed from Damascus for the eastern provinces.

Al-Malik Muʿizz-al-Dīn Sinjar Shāh ibn-Ghāzi ibn-Mawdūd ibn-Zangi ibn-ʿAqsunqur, the atabeg, prince of al-Jazīrah, was murdered this year by his son Maḥmūd, who succeeded him.²³ The Emir Sayf-al-Dīn Sunqur, atabeg of the Yemen, consigned ten thousand Egyptian *dīnārs* to al-ʿĀdil, in whose name they were struck.

The Qāḍi Makīn-al-Dīn Muṭahhar ibn-Hamdān died in the Buṣra Citadel this year in the month of Rajab. Hilāl-al-Dawlah Washshāb ibn-Razīn, *wāli* of Cairo, also died. The Emir Sayf-al-Dīn ʿAli ibn-Kihdān was dismissed from the governorship of Miṣr. Asʿad ibn-Ḥamdān was dismissed from the eastern district and Khashkhāsh al-Warrāq assumed his duties. The Chief Qāḍi Ṣadr-al-Dīn Abū-l-Qāsim ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn-ʿIsā ibn-Dirbas al-Mārāni also died this year on Wednesday the fifth of Rajab. He had come to Egypt on the fourth of Rajab in the year 565, and he had stayed in Egypt for forty years.

The Year 606 (A.H.)

[6th July, 1209–24th June, 1210]

Al-ʿĀdil marched from Damascus this year to campaign against the Georgians. With him were the (Ayyūbid) kings.²⁴ He encamped before Ḥarrān, and there was joined by reinforcements.²⁵ He took Nīsībīn [Nisibis], and went on to besiege Sinjār where al-Malik Quṭb-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-Zangi was prince. A series of encounters took place between them, during which the ruler of Sinjār sent envoys to the Caliph al-Nāṣir and to other kings²⁶ to seek their help against al-ʿĀdil. A number of the kings inclined toward him, to help him against al-ʿĀdil, and some of those who were besieging Sinjār with him deserted him. They even intrigued with a group of his troops and caused great mischief. Then an emissary²⁷ from the Caliph arrived and commanded al-ʿĀdil to withdraw, saying on behalf of the Imām (and Caliph) al-Nāṣir: "By my life, O my friend, depart." Whereupon al-ʿĀdil returned to Damascus and his troops dispersed.

This year a quarrel broke out between al-ʿĀdil and (his vizir) the Ṣāhib ibn-Shukr, which so provoked the indignation of the vizir that he went out into the desert. Al-Manṣūr, the prince of Ḥamāh, and Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas, lord of Bānyās, rode out and found him at Ra's al-ʿAyn. They conducted him back to al-ʿĀdil who treated him cordially, but from that moment his position declined.

Al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Najm-al-Dīn Mas'ūd ibn-Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-Ayyūb died this year at Ra's al-ʿAyn, reportedly of poison. His body was taken to Aleppo for burial. Al-ʿĀdil returned to Damascus. The Emir al-Mukarram ibn-al-Lamṭi was appointed governor of Qūṣ in the month of Dhū-l-Qa'dah.

The Year 607 (A.H.)

[25th June, 1210–14th June, 1211]

This year al-Malik al-Awḥad vanquished the King of the Georgians. That monarch ransomed himself by paying 100,000 *dīnārs* and releasing 5,000 Muslim prisoners on the condition of a thirty-year truce and by giving his daughter in marriage to al-Awḥad, on condition that she would not have to change her religion. Al-Awḥad set him at liberty, and several fortresses were then returned to the Muslims. But al-Awḥad died this year and his brother al-Ashraf reigned after him in Khilāṭ.

The Franks marched on the coast and mustered at Acre. Al-ʿĀdil left Damascus, and peace was signed between him and them. Al-ʿĀdil commenced to construct the fortress of al-Ṭūr [Mount Tabor] near Acre. He then moved on to Karak, and tarried there some days, after which he took the road to Egypt and entered Cairo, where he took up residence in the Vizirial Lodge.

The Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Jihārkas died this year. The Franks took the field again, and al-ʿĀdil prepared to march to Syria. The Ṣāhib Ṣafī-al-Dīn ibn-Shukr was relieved of his office. The Sultan Nūr-al-Dīn Arslān Shāh, son of the Sultan Mas'ūd, the atabeg, ruler of Mosul, died in the month of Rajab of this year, having reigned for seventeen years and eleven months. He was succeeded by his son, al-Malik al-Qāhir ʿIzz-al-Dīn

Mas'ūd, whose regent was the Emir Badr-al-Dīn Lū'lu', the atabeg, who had been a mameluke of his father.

The surrounding kings drank this year the Cup of the Futūwah to the Caliph, and donned the trousers of the Futūwah.²⁸ They received patents to this effect that might display their loyalty to him. Each king was commanded to cause his chief subjects to drink of the cup and don the trousers in order to display their relation to him. This the kings did; each summoned to him the qādis of his realm, the jurists, the emirs, and the great officers, dressed them in the trousers and gave them the cup to drink. The Caliph al-Nāṣir was very devoted to this institution. He instructed the kings to show their allegiance to him by the shooting of bullets [*bunduq*] and to set an example in this.

This year a Genoese merchant named William the Frank appeared in Cairo. Coming before al-Malik al-'Ādil he gave him precious gifts. This amazed al-'Ādil, and he enjoined the man to be attached to his suite. But William was secretly a spy of the Franks, informing them of affairs (in Cairo). This was reported to al-'Ādil, who paid no heed to what was said of this man.

Yūsuf ibn-al-As'ad ibn-Mammāti died this year, on the fourth of Jumādā al-Ulā in Cairo. The Emir Sayarūkh died on the fifteenth of Rajab.

Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Kaykhusraw ibn-Qilj Arslān, prince of Konya, was killed this year. He had returned to his country, after having had to flee to Aleppo, and once again, after many vicissitudes, had taken possession of the city of Konya. Its inhabitants cast into prison Qilij Arslān, (the reigning) son of (the usurper) Rukn-al-Dīn (brother of Kaykhusraw). But after his affairs had thus prospered, Kaykhusraw was slain (in battle against the Armenians), having declared his son ('Izz-al-Dīn) Kaykawus to be his heir.

A fight took place this year at Mina²⁹ between the Iraqi pilgrims and the people of Mecca, and a slave of the Sharīf Qatādah named Bilāl was killed, for which reason this year was called "Bilāl's Year."

The Year 608 (A.H.)

[15th June, 1211–2nd June, 1212]

This year al-Malik al-‘Ādil arrested the Emir ‘Izz-al-Dīn Usāmah al-Ṣalāḥī, lieutenant of Kawkab [Belvoir of the Crusaders] and ‘Ajlūn, cast him into prison, and seized all his properties. He was conveyed to Karak, and there confined with his son. Al-Malik al-Mu‘aẓẓam took possession of the citadels of Kawkab and ‘Ajlūn; Kawkab he razed, leaving not a trace. Al-‘Ādil went to Alexandria to examine its affairs. Bahā’-al-Dīn ibn Shaddād arrived in Cairo from Aleppo to propose the marriage of Ḍayfah,³⁰ daughter of al-‘Ādil and sister of al-Kāmil, to her cousin al-Ẓāhir; this was accepted, and he returned in honor. Al-Kāmil’s mother died this year on Sunday, the twenty-fifth of Ṣafar, and was buried beside the tomb of the Imām al-Shāfi‘i. Her son arranged Koran readers at the tomb, and distributed alms; he also caused water to flow from Birkat al-Ḥabash³¹ to the tomb of al-Shāfi‘i, which had not been before. The people moved their habitations from Great Qarāfah to the Qarāfah of our time, and there built their houses.

This year al-‘Ādil left Cairo and came to Damascus; thence he moved to the Jazīrah and set its affairs in order, returning then to Damascus. With him was William the Frank. The power of the Ṣalāḥī party collapsed with the fall of the Emir Qarājā, the Emir (‘Izz-al-Dīn) Usāmah, and the Emir (Fakhr-al-Dīn) Jihārkas; and all their fortresses passed to al-‘Ādil and his son al-Mu‘aẓẓam. The children of (the late Fāṭimid Caliph) al-‘Āḍid and his other relations were transferred to the Citadel of the Mount on Thursday, the twenty-second of Ramaḍān of this year, and the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Ṭūnbā Abū-Sha‘rah ibn-al-Duwayk, governor of Cairo, was charged with the task of putting their legs in irons. Their number was sixty-three.

In this year a great earthquake shook Egypt, destroying many houses in Cairo and in Miṣr. Karak and Shawbak were rocked, too, and many people perished beneath the ruins, while a number of the towers of their citadels fell down. And in Damascus smoke was seen descending from the skies to the ground on the land about Qaṣr ‘Ātikah between the hour of sunset and nightfall.

Al-Muwaffaq ibn-Abī'l-Karam al-Tinnīsi died this year on Sunday the seventeenth of Rabī' al-Awwal, and Zāfir ibn-al-Arsūfi, in Miṣr, at the end of the month of Rajab. Three thousand merchants and two Frankish men of business held a meeting in Alexandria this year. But al-'Ādil moved against them, arrested the merchants and confiscated their possessions, while he imprisoned the businessmen.

In this year, I mean the year 608, there occurred a clash between the Iraqi pilgrims and the inhabitants of Mecca. The cause was that a *ḥashīshi* [Assassin]³² arrived for the purpose of assassinating the Sharīf Qatādah, and killed a sharīf called Abū-Hārūn 'Azīz, thinking that he was Qatādah. A riot flared up, the Emir of the Pilgrimage fled, and the pilgrims were looted to the last. The officers of the Caliph and those under their protection in Mecca fled from the city. The Sharīf Qatādah despatched his son Rājih to the Caliph to express his regrets. These were accepted, and he was pardoned.³³

The Year 609 (A.H.)

[3rd June, 1212–22nd May, 1213]

This year al-'Ādil encamped with his army around the citadel of al-Ṭūr [Mount Tabor]. He gathered artisans from all towns, and employed all the emirs of the army in constructing this place and carrying the stones. Five hundred builders were employed in its erection, not counting the laborers and stone-cutters. Al-'Ādil did not quit the site until the citadel was completed.

This year Ibn-Shaddād arrived in Damascus from Aleppo bringing a large sum of money and robes of honor for the celebration of the marriage between Dayfah, daughter of al-'Ādil, and her cousin al-Zāhir, prince of Aleppo. All the emirs and notables of the city went out to meet him. The marriage pact was made in the month of Muḥarram, on a dowry of 50,000 *dīnārs*. Pieces of gold were distributed in Muḥarram to the people in the citadel at Damascus. The princess was then equipped to go with great splendor to her spouse in Aleppo; among the things that went were cloths, instruments, and manufactured goods, borne on fifty mules, two hundred

Bactrian camels, and three hundred (ordinary or one-humped) camels. Attendant maidens traveled on litters on a hundred camels, among them one hundred singers who could play a variety of musical instruments, and another hundred who could execute the most remarkable handicrafts. The day of her entry into Aleppo was a great occasion. Al-Zāhir presented her with his gifts, which included five strings of jewels that cost 150,000 *dīnārs*, a diadem of gems without equal, five amber necklaces ornamented with gold and five without such, 170 gold and silver objects, twenty linen bags filled with vestments, twenty handmaidens, and ten slaves.

This year al-Humām ibn-Hilal-al-Dawlah was removed from the governorship of Cairo, and Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Ṭūnbā Abū-Sha‘rah, mameluke of al-Mihrāni, was appointed in his place on . . . [lacuna]. Al-Malik al-‘Ādil took umbrage this year with his vizir Ṣafī-al-Dīn ibn-Shukr, discharging him from the vizirate, but leaving him his possessions; he removed the vizir to Āmid, where he remained until al-‘Ādil died. This year al-‘Ādil entrusted the administration of Egypt, and the supervision of its finances and well-being, to his son, al-Malik al-Kāmil. Al-Kāmil appointed al-Qāḍi al-A‘azz Fakhr-al-Dīn Miqdām ibn-Shukr as inspector of the two states.³⁴ In this year al-‘Ādil departed from Damascus for Khilāt and entered that city. Al-Ashraf was there, and had seized all the money in the place.

The Year 610 (A.H.)

[23rd May, 1213–12th May, 1214]

This year al-Zāhir, prince of Aleppo, felt somewhat apprehensive of his uncle al-‘Ādil, and commenced to put his forces in readiness; but they exchanged some correspondence whereby the situation was calmed.

Ḍayfah, daughter of al-‘Ādil, gave this year a son to her cousin (and husband) al-Zāhir. He was named Muḥammad, and described as al-Malik al-‘Azīz Ghiyāth-al-Dīn. He was born on the fifth of Dhū-l-Ḥijjah [17th April, 1213]. Aleppo was decorated, and al-Zāhir proclaimed a great celebration. Objects of all shapes and kinds were fashioned for him in hundred-weights by his command. Ten cradles were made for him of

gold and silver, not counting those which were made of ebony, sandalwood, and aloes-wood and such like. For the boy himself three dresses were woven from pearls, each dress having also forty rubies, sapphires, and emeralds; two breastplates, two helmets, and two embroidered horse-cloths, all set with pearls; three jeweled saddles, each saddle having a set of gems of astonishing beauty and rubies and emeralds; three swords with their attachments and handles studded with a variety of precious stones; and a set of golden lances with jeweled heads.

This year al-Ẓāhir Khidr, son of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-Ayyūb, departed from Aleppo on the pilgrimage. But when he drew near to Mecca, henchmen of al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad, son of al-ʿĀdil, prevented him from completing his pilgrimage, saying: "You have come only for the purpose of seizing the Yemen." "Put me in irons, ye men," replied al-Ẓāhir, "but let me discharge the rites of the pilgrimage." But they answered: "We have no orders save to return you," and he went back to Syria without having performed the rites of the pilgrimage. At this the people were much grieved.

The Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Ismāʿil, governor of Miṣr, died in that city this year. And the Banū-Marīn,³⁵ one of the tribes of the Zanātah, entered the Maghrib from the desert, pillaging the farms and attacking the Almohades and routing them. The emir of the Banū Marīn at that time was ʿAbd-al-Ḥaqq ibn-Miḥyu ibn-Abī-Bakr ibn-Ḥamāmah ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Warṣīṣ ibn-Fakūs ibn-Kumāṭ ibn Marīn.

This year a fosse was dug around the city of Aleppo. In it a flint paving was discovered on which words in Syriac characters were inscribed. Translated into Arabic they read: "That the world has been created is proof that it has a Creator, no doubt of it." (Under these words) were written: "For five thousand years have elapsed from the time of the small pillar."³⁶

The pavement was taken up, and beneath it nineteen pieces of gold, silver, and Tyrean [Ṣūri] *dīnārs* in the shape of bricks [*labin*] were found. They were examined, and the result was that the gold weighed sixty-three Aleppo *ratls*, and the silver twenty-four *ratls*. A gold ring weighed two and a half *ratls* and the Tyrean ten and a half *ratls*. The whole weighed a *qintār* [100 *ratls*] in the Aleppo measure.

The Year 611 (A.H.)

[13th May, 1214–1st May, 1215]

This year al-Malik al-Manṣūr, son of al-‘Azīz, fled from the custody of his father’s uncle, al-‘Ādil, and with his brothers took refuge with al-Zāhir, prince of Aleppo, who received them generously.

This year also the Franks of Cyprus, Acre, Tripoli, and Antioch, together with the troops of the son of Leo, King of the Armenians, assembled for the purpose of invading Muslim lands. The Muslims were greatly alarmed. The first incursion was against the Ismā‘īlites; they then besieged al-Khawābi,³⁷ after which they returned to Antioch. In the same year, ‘Izz-al-Dīn Kaykāwūs ibn-Kaykhusraw ibn-Qilij Arslān, the Saljūq, Sultan of Rūm, vanquished (Theodore) Lascaris [al-Ashkari], Emperor of the Greeks. Also in this year al-‘Ādil left Syria for Egypt, and took up residence in Cairo in the Vizirial Lodge. His son al-Kāmil remained in the Citadel of the Mount. Al-‘Ādil gave orders that William (the Genoese) should reside with him in the Vizirial Lodge. Report arrived this year of the death of Sunqur, atabeg of the Yemen. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ayyūb became ruler of the Yemen after him, and Ghāzi was his atabeg.

Al-Malik al-‘Ādil began this year the paving of the Great ‘Umayyad Mosque (in Damascus), of which the floor had been beaten earth. He entrusted the task to the vizir Ṣafī-al-Dīn ibn-Shukr. This year the people of Damascus transacted their business with black³⁸ ‘Ādili³⁹ coins,⁴⁰ but this was later discontinued and fell into abeyance. Sahm-al-Dīn ‘Īsā assumed the governorship of Cairo in the month of Shawwāl of this year, and Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Abī-l-Manṣūr took over the control of the Treasury. Sa’d ibn-Sa’d-al-Dīn ibn-Kūjiya died on the twentieth of Rabī‘al-Ākhir.

In this year al-Malik al-Mu‘aẓẓam ‘Īsā, son of al-‘Ādil, departed from Damascus on the pilgrimage accompanied by the Sharīf Sālim ibn-Qāsim ibn-Muḥannā al-Ḥusayni, emir of the Prophet’s city of Medina. The Sharīf Qatādah, emir of Mecca, purposed to arrest the Sharīf Sālim, but did not succeed, and Sālim returned to Damascus in the company of al-Malik al-

Mu‘azzam. This prince sent him against Mecca at the head of an army, but he died on the way before arriving at that city, and his nephew Jumāz ibn-Qāsim assumed command. Qatādah mustered his forces and marched on Yanbu‘; he met Jumāz and was put to flight.

The Year 612 (A.H.)

[2nd May, 1215–19th April, 1216]

This year the Franks invested the stronghold of al-Khawābi. They also went to war with the Bāṭinis, and then made peace with them.⁴¹ In this year too, the Caliph Nāṣir (li-Dīn-Allāh) distributed through Syria, Egypt, and other countries a work which he had composed and entitled “The Spirit of the Gnostics” [*Rūḥ al-‘Ārifīn*], for it to be heard in the lectures on the Traditions.

The Franks conquered Anṭāliyah⁴² this year, and massacred the Muslims within it. It had been in the hands of al-Malik (Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Kaykhusraw from the time of his capturing the fortress in the year 602 until the Franks took it from him in 607. Al-Malik) al-Ghālib ‘Izz-al-Dīn Kaykāwūs (then recovered it from them in 613, it having remained in Frankish hands for that period. In this same year ‘Izz-al-Dīn invaded Armenia and besieged the fortress of Jābān. The Armenian army withdrew from Jābān, but ‘Izz-al-Dīn withdrew to Caesarea before he could take it. The Armenians sought peace, and ‘Izz-al-Dīn agreed) receiving from them the fortresses of Lu‘lu‘ah (and of Lawzād).

Al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Abū-l-Ḥasan ‘Ali, son of the Caliph Nāṣir, died this year. When news of his death reached the kings of the (Ayyūbid) territories, they went into mourning, and assumed the habiliments of grief in deference to the Caliph.

This year al-Malik al-Kāmil despatched his son, al-Malik Mas‘ūd Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf, to the Yemen. He set out from Egypt with a strong army, and, coming to the Yemen, took possession of its strongholds and vanquished its ruler, al-Malik Sulaymān Shāh ibn-Sa‘d-al-Dīn Shāhanshāh ibn-al-Malik al-Muzaḥḥar Taqī-al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn-Shāhanshāh ibn-Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, sending him under guard to Egypt. He remained in

Cairo until the year 647, when he went out to fight for Islam (against the Franks) at al-Manṣūrah, and fell in battle. The Yemen came under the rule of al-Malik al-Masʿūd.

Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil returned this year from Syria to Cairo. When he learned of the expense of al-Masʿūd's expedition to the Yemen he deemed it excessive, and expressed his disapproval of it, because it had been done without his knowledge. He also ordered the beating and fettering of the Qāḍi al-Aʿazz, who was confined in the citadel of al-Jazīrah [Rawḍah] and then moved to that of Buṣra, where he lay imprisoned. Al-ʿĀdil transferred this year his wealth and treasures and children to Karak, when also his constitution became weakened. In this year, too, al-ʿĀdil abolished the farming of taxes on wine and slave girls.

In this year the Sharīf Qatādah, Emir of Mecca, besieged the Prophet's city of Medina, and cut down many palm trees. The Emir of Medina was at the time in Syria with al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. Al-ʿĀdil furnished him with an army, with which he set out. But he died on the way, and his nephew Jumāz ibn-Qāsim took command of the army. He advanced on Mecca and fought its people. Qatādah fled to Yanbuʿ and much booty was taken. Jumāz pursued Qatādah, and besieged him in Yanbuʿ.

In Muḥarram of this year Taqī-al-Dīn al-Lūr,⁴³ shaykh of the (Ṣalāḥi) monastery [*khāniqah*],⁴⁴ in the house of Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ,⁴⁵ died. Abū-l-Mājid ibn-Abī-Ghālib ibn-Sūrūs [John the Sixth],⁴⁶ Jacobite Patriarch, also died on Thursday, the Feast of Epiphany, in the year of the Martyrs 732 [Coptic chronology], being the fourteenth of Ramaḍān [6th January, 1215]. He had held the office of Patriarch for twenty-six years, eleven months, and thirteen days. He had first been a trader with the Yemen, and had been shipwrecked, report having it that he had been saved only with his last breath. Now the sons of al-Jabbāb had confided to his charge (on this voyage) a sum of money, and they despaired of it. But when he met with them again, he apprised them that their stock was safe: he had placed it in tar-covered boxes he had nailed when in the ship, and he delivered it to them. From this cause he stood apart in their approval. And so it came about that when the Patriarch Morcos [Mark], son of Zarʿah, died, and Ibn Sūrūs proposed that the

priest Abū-Yāsir be raised to the patriarchate, the sons of al-Jabbāb encouraged him to aspire to the office himself. He debated it with them, and they maintained the justness of the proposal, and he was finally invested with the dignity. He possessed at that time seventeen thousand Egyptian *dīnārs*, all of which he distributed, during the time of his patriarchate, to the poor. He abolished the tax on monasteries [*dayyāriyah*] and prohibited ordination fees [*shartūniyah*]. Throughout the whole time of his administration he never took bread of any Christian, nor took a gift from anyone, great or small.

The priest David, son of John, surnamed Ibn-Laqlaq, of Fayyūm, was an assistant of the Shaykh Nash' al-Khilāfah Abū'l-Futūḥ ibn-al-Miqāṭ, Secretary of the 'Ādili armies, and accompanied him on his journeys and prayed with him. So when Ibn-Sūrūs died, Abū'l-Fatūḥ requested al-Malik al-'Ādil that the priest David be appointed to the patriarchate. The Sultan consented and signed instruments to that effect, without the knowledge of al-Malik al-Kāmil. The appointment of David did not please certain of the Christians, and a man among them known as As'ad ibn-Saḍaḡah, clerk to the Dār al-Tuffāḥ [the Depot of the Apples]⁴⁷ in Miṣr, collected a considerable number of Christian fruit-pressers. On the night on which the consecration of the priest David was agreed upon, in the early morning hours, he went out with this crowd to beneath the Citadel of the Mount. There they beseeched al-Malik al-Kāmil, crying: "This one whom Abū'l-Futūḥ desires be made patriarch without your command will not suit. And by our canon law no patriarch may be installed save with the people's approval of him." A message was sent out to them (by al-Kāmil) to calm them.

At daybreak the priest David rode out with a great multitude of Christians and the bishops who should consecrate him at the Pendant Church [Kanīsat al-Mu'allaḡah] in Miṣr, this being on Sunday, the Feast of the Olive. Al-Malik al-Kāmil rode across to his father and represented to him that the Christians did not agree with the appointment of David as patriarch, and that according to their system no patriarch could be put forward without the agreement of the people.⁴⁸ Al-'Ādil sent word to the bishops to attend in order that he might investigate the

matter. The messengers encountered them, together with the priest David, at the Lane of the Red Church, and the bishops were brought before al-'Ādil, while David entered the Red Church. His case collapsed, and the throne was empty of a patriarch for nineteen years and 160 days.

In the month of Jumādā al-Ulā al-Malik al-'Ādil dismissed Zaki-al-Dīn al-Ṭāhir ibn Muḥyi-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-'Alī, the Qurayshite, from the qāḍiship of Damascus, and Jamāl-al-Dīn 'Abd-al-Ṣamad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Abū-'l-Faḍl the Ḥarastānī⁴⁹ was entrusted with the office; his age was ninety-two years. This year a man came to Cairo from the East with an ass that had a hump like a camel and danced and frolicked and answered to a call.

The Year 613 (A.H.)

[20th April, 1216–9th April, 1217]

In this year Bahā'-al-Dīn . . . [lacuna] ibn-al-Jummayzi was appointed *khaṭīb* of Cairo on the thirteenth of Muḥarram, and Abū-'l-Ṭāhir al-Maḥalli became *khaṭīb* of Miṣr on the second of Ṣafar. Al-'Ādil moved from Cairo to Alexandria, arranged its affairs, and returned to Cairo. Al-Bahā' ibn-Shaddād arrived this year from Aleppo as ambassador of al-Zāhir to al-'Ādil in Cairo. Al-Zāhir fell ill on the twenty-fifth of Jumādā al-Ulā, and died on the night of the twenty-third of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [9th October]. He was forty-four and some months of age, and had ruled in Aleppo for a period of thirty-one years. He had studied the Traditions, and himself imparted them to others in Aleppo. He was cruel, but astute, cautious, and statesmanlike, and he wrote good verse. His son al-Malik al-'Azīz Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Muḥammad succeeded him in accordance with his testament; the child was then two years and some months old. When al-'Ādil had heard of the illness of al-Zāhir he had arranged a courier service between Egypt and Aleppo to inform him of the news; the announcement of al-Zāhir's death thus reached him before everyone else. He summoned Ibn-Shaddād to him and said: "O Qāḍi, your master died at such and such a time on such and such a day." Ibn-Shaddād returned straightway to Aleppo.

This year the Tartars commenced to spill out from their lands adjoining Iran. The Sharīf Qāsim issued forth from Medina this year and attacked Jiddah. The Sharīf Qatādah, Emir of Mecca, marched against him and defeated him on the Day of Sacrifice [the 10th of Dhū'l-Hijjah].

The Year 614 (A.H.)

[10th April, 1217–29th March, 1218]

The Shaykh Ṣadr-al-Dīn ibn-Hamuwayh arrived this year from Baghdad with the reply to an epistle sent by al-Malik al-'Ādil to the Caliph Nāṣir.

Successive Frankish reinforcements arrived at Acre this year from Rome [Rūma] and other countries, among them some of their kings. They ended the truce, and resolved to capture Jerusalem and all the coastal territories, and other places; their muster was considerable. Al-'Ādil took the road from Egypt with his troops and came to Lydda. The Franks emerged from Acre in great force, and al-'Ādil moved to Nablus and then encamped at Baysān. When he moved, his son al-Mu'azzam had said to him: "Whither go we father?" and al-'Ādil upbraided him and exclaimed: "You have given Syria in fief to (your) mamelukes, and those freeborn who serve me well you have neglected."

The Franks marched on him, but he was unable to meet them on account of the small number of men with him. He therefore withdrew from their grasp by the defile of Fīq. He then wrote to order to fortify Damascus, and to transport the crops from Dāriyā to the citadel as well as to send water to the districts of Dāriyā, Qaṣr Ḥajjāj⁵⁰ and al-Shāgūr.⁵¹ The people were greatly frightened and called upon God, and the mosques were filled with their clamor. The Franks marched on Baysān, whose inhabitants had felt secure because al-'Ādil had encamped beside them. The Franks pillaged the town and all its dependencies, and used the sword indiscriminately upon its inhabitants, and took prisoners and carried off spoil beyond description. They despatched raiding contingents throughout the area, and some reached Nawā.⁵² They encamped at Banyās for three days, and then returned to the Acre plain. They inflicted on

the Muslims great distress, carried off a great number of prisoners and much booty, and wreaked destruction by sword and fire beyond description. They remained but a short time in the Acre plain and then made a second incursion, sacking Sidon and al-Shaqīf before returning. All this occurred between the middle of the month of Ramaḍān and the Feast at the end of that month of fasting.

Al-ʿĀdil encamped in Marj al-Ṣuffar. On his way thither he espied a man carrying a burden who alternately walked and sat, and said to him: "Hasten not, old man, take care of yourself." But the man replied to him: "O Sultan of the Muslims, should it not be you who must not hasten, rather than I? For if we see you departing from your country and leaving us to the enemy, how shall we not ourselves make speed?" When he was settled in Marj al-Ṣuffar, al-ʿĀdil summoned the princes of the eastern part of the empire to come to him. The first to arrive was Asad-al-Dīn Shīrkūh,⁵³ ruler of Ḥimṣ. Al-ʿĀdil then despatched his son al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā (ruler of Damascus), with a part of the army, to Nablus in order to cover Jerusalem from the Franks. The Franks invested the citadel of Ṭūr [Mount Tabor], which al-ʿĀdil had constructed, and so pressed its garrison that they captured its fortified walls and were about to take it. But God disposed that some of their kings should be killed, wherefore, after having been there seventeen days, they withdrew from the place to Acre.

The year came to an end with this state of affairs, the Franks being quartered in the plain of Acre, and al-ʿĀdil in Marj al-Ṣuffar. The chief qāḍi of Damascus, the illustrious Qāḍi Abū-l-Qāsim ʿAbd-al-Ṣamad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Abi-l-Faḍl ibn-ʿAli ibn-ʿAbd-al-Wāḥid al-Anṣārī al-Khazraji al-ʿUbādi al-Saʿadi al-Dimashki al-Shafīʿī Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-al-Ḥarastāni died this year on the fourth of the month of Dhū-l-Ḥijjah [4th March, 1218]. He was born in Damascus in one of the two Rabīʿ months in the year 520. The Grand Emir Badr-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-Abū-l-Qāsim ibn-Muḥammad al-Hakkari was killed this year by the Franks at the siege of Mount Tabor. His body was conveyed to Jerusalem, and there buried in the mausoleum he had built. Al-Shujāʿ Maḥmūd ibn-al-Dabbāgh, jester to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, died this year, leaving a considerable fortune.

*The Year 615 (A.H.)**[30th March, 1218–18th March, 1219]*

This year the Franks unanimously decided to march from Acre on Egypt in an endeavor to conquer it. They put to sea, and anchored at Damietta on Tuesday the fourth of Rabī 'al-Awwal—corresponding to the eighth of June—over against the bank of the river Nile, which ran between them and the town. There was on the Nile at that time a highly fortified tower of great strength and powers of resistance. It had steel chains, immensely robust and thick, which stretched across the Nile to prevent ships arriving by the high seas from entering into Egypt. These chains reached a second tower facing the first. Both towers were filled with fighting men, and till today the place where they stood in Damietta is known as Bayn al-Burjayn [Between the Two Towers].

The Franks being thus encamped on the west side of the Nile, they surrounded their camp with a ditch and around it built a rampart; then they began to attack the garrison of Damietta. They constructed engines, and large ships [*marammāt*] and (mobile) towers. In the ships they advanced with their equipment against the tower with the chains, intending to seize it so that they might take possession of the town. Al-Kāmil made a sortie with the troops that remained with him, three days after receiving despatches by carrier pigeon, five days before the end of the month of Rabī 'al-Awwal [22nd June, 1218]. He directed the governor of the western districts to assemble all the nomad Arabs, and he marched out with a considerable force. The fleet set sail and anchored off Damietta. The Sultan (al-Kāmil) encamped in the neighborhood of al-'Ādilīyah, a locality near Damietta, and despatched an army to prevent the Franks from crossing. He daily rode a number of times from al-'Ādilīyah to Damietta to arrange affairs and to plot stratagems to deceive the Franks.

The Franks exhausted themselves in their assaults upon the tower, but could achieve nothing, and their ships and engines were destroyed. Matters continued in this fashion for four months. Al-Malik al-'Ādil despatched the army of Syria, contingent by contingent, to Damietta until al-Kāmil possessed

troops whose number could scarce be counted. Meanwhile, intelligence arrived that al-Malik (al-Ghālib 'Izz-al-Dīn) Kay-kāwūs the Saljūq, Sultan of Rūm, was on the march to Syria according to an agreement with al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, prince of Āmid, and other Syrian princes. It was learned that he had reached Manbij⁵⁴ and had taken Tell Bāshir,⁵⁵ and that he had agreed with al-Malik al-Afdal 'Ali, son of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn (and prince of Samosata) to give over to him all the towns he conquered. But the Saljūq Sultan was not true to his bond, and placed his conquests under the governance of his own lieutenants, thereby causing many men to break with him. Some Arabs fell upon a detachment of his army, killing and taking prisoner many and carrying off much booty. The Sultan returned to his country having gained nothing of advantage.

All this time al-'Ādil lay encamped in Marj al-Ṣuffar. While he was anxiously considering the problem of the Franks he received tidings that they had captured the tower with the chains at Damietta. He sighed deeply and beat his chest in grief and sorrow, and instantly was seized with sickness. He moved from Marj al-Ṣuffar to 'Āliqīn,⁵⁶ but his malady worsened and he died on Thursday the seventh of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [31st August, 1218]. His officers concealed his death, and said: "The physician has advised that the Sultan go to Damascus for a cure." His body was carried in a litter, his personal servant with him, his physician riding beside the litter, and his principal cup-bearer preparing beverages which he brought to the servant to give to the Sultan to drink. Thus the people were deceived into thinking that he was alive until at last he was brought into the citadel of Damascus, where were his treasury, his women, and all his family. His death was announced after his son al-Malik al-Mu'azzam had seized all the wealth he had with him, and all his furnitures and immovables. He was interred in the citadel.

The people gave themselves over to disorder until al-Mu'azzam rode out and calmed them, and criers proclaimed: "Implore God's mercy upon the Sultan al-Malik al-'Ādil. Pray for your Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, may God preserve him." The people wept exceedingly and their grief at his loss was intense.

Al-'Ādil was born in the month of Muḥarram in the year

540, some say 538, in Damascus. He studied the Islamic Traditions of al-Silafi and Ibn-'Awf. His resolute stand in the holy war in the Damietta marches in the year 565, during the reign of the Caliph al-'Āḍid, as also at Acre, is well known. He became sovereign of Damascus in 592, and reigned over it for twenty-three years. He became ruler of Egypt in 596 [23rd October, 1199–11th October, 1200], his reign there lasting nineteen years, one month, and nineteen days. He was blessed in his sons in a manner rarely occurring with kings; they numbered nineteen, and this apart from the girls. They were:

Al-Malik al-Awḥad Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, prince of Khilāt, a man extremely short in stature, but vigorous and courageous, altogether a shedder of blood. He died in his father's lifetime.

Al-Malik al-Fā'iz Ibrāhīm and al-Malik al-Mughīth 'Umar, who both also predeceased their father. 'Umar left a son named al-Malik al-Mughīth Shihāb-al-Dīn Maḥmūd who was brought up by his uncle al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā.

Al-Malik al-Jawād Shams-al-Dīn Mawdūd, who also died in his father's time, leaving a son named Muẓaffar-al-Dīn Yūnus ibn-Mawdūd. He stayed at the court of his uncle al-Malik al-Kāmil in Egypt and later became ruler of Damascus and other cities. He was generous and brave.

Al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir-al-Dīn Muḥammad, Sultan of Egypt.

Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Sharaf-al-Dīn Abū-l-'Azā'im 'Isā, prince of Damascus, whose half-brothers were al-Malik al-'Azīz 'Imād-al-Dīn 'Uthmān, prince of Bānyās, a generous and active man, and al-Malik al-Amjad Majd-al-Dīn Ḥasan, who died in his father's time in Jerusalem and was buried in a school built for him there; his body was later removed to Karak.

Al-Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffar-al-Dīn Mūsā, prince of the eastern provinces and Khilāt, after his brother al-Malik al-Awḥad.

Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Shihāb-al-Dīn Ghāzi, prince of Mayyā-fāriqīn, and his half-brothers al-Malik al-Mu'izz Mujīr-al-Dīn Ya'qūb and al-Malik al-Qāhir Bahā'-al-Dīn Tāj-al-Mulūk Ishāq.

Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād-al-Dīn Ismā'il, prince of Buṣra and later of Damascus.

Al-Malik al-Mufaḍḍal Quṭb-al-Dīn Aḥmad, who died in Egypt in al-Fayyūm during the reign of his brother al-Kāmil; he was brought in his coffin to Cairo in the middle of the month of Rajab in the year 618.

Al-Malik al-Amjad Taqī-al-Dīn 'Abbās, the youngest of them all, who was born in the year 603 and who died last of them, in Damascus, in 669 during the reign of al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars.

Al-Malik al-Ḥāfiẓ Nūr-al-Dīn Arslān, prince of the Citadel of Ja'bar.

Al-Malik al-Qāhir Bahā'-al-Dīn Khidr.

Al-Malik al-Mughīth Shihāb-al-Dīn Maḥmūd, and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Khalīl.

Abū Sa'īd ibn-Abī'l-Yumn ibn-al-Naḥḥāl acted as vizir to al-'Ādil for a short time, to the benefit of the kingdom. He had been a Christian who had turned Muslim at the instance of al-'Ādil after that prince had returned to Egypt with al-Afdal 'Alī, son of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, in 582. When Ibn-al-Naḥḥāl died, al-'Ādil appointed as his vizir al-Ṣāhib Ṣafī-al-Dīn 'Abdullāh ibn-Shukr al-Damīri. Of dominant character and distinguished authority, he gained great influence over the Sultan, prevailing upon him, and gaining great power. He assailed certain great personages, putting exactions on great officers of the realm [*Akābir kuttāb al-Dawlah*] and even confiscating the whole of their properties.

Al-Qāḍi al-Ashraf, son of al-Qāḍi al-Fāḍil, fled from him to Baghdad and begged the intercession of the Caliph al-Nāṣir. The Caliph wrote a letter on his behalf to al-'Ādil. 'Alam-al-Dīn ibn-Abī'l-Ḥajjāj, head of the bureau [*diwān*] for the army, and al-As'ad ibn-Mammāti, head of the treasury, also fled from this vizir to Aleppo. Al-Malik al-Zāhir treated them bountifully until they died at his court. The vizir also made exactions on the Bani-Ḥamdān, the Bani'l-Jabbāb, the Bani'l-Jalīs, and the principal departmental officers [*'Ayān al-Kuttāb al-Mustawfiyīn*], while al-'Ādil did nothing to prevent him. The vizir then became incensed with the Sultan, and one day in the year 609 broke out against him, and swore that he would no longer remain in his service. Al-'Ādil thereupon drove him from Egypt, letting him take all his possessions and wives, his baggage needing thirty camels. His enemies had advised the Sultan to confiscate his possessions, but this the Sultan refused to do, and Ṣafī-al-Dīn repaired to Āmid and took up residence at the court of (al-Malik) al-Ṣāliḥ ibn-Urtuq.

In his place al-'Ādil appointed al-Qāḍi al-A'azz Fakhr-al-Dīn Miqdām ibn-Shukr, but in the year 612 al-'Ādil became severely

displeased with him and had him beaten and put in chains and then banished from Egypt. After him no other vizir was appointed.

It is a remarkable fact that every kingdom al-Malik al-Afdal 'Ali, son of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf, possessed was taken from him by his uncle al-'Ādil. The first such instance was when his father enfeoffed him with Harrān, Edessa, and Mayyāfāriqīn, in the year 586, and he set out for those lands. But when he arrived at Aleppo, his father sent him back and sent al-Malik al-'Ādil instead. Al-Afdal ruled Damascus after his father, but al-'Ādil dispossessed him of that. Then he reigned over Egypt, and al-'Ādil took that from him. He became sovereign of Ṣarkhad, and again al-'Ādil dispossessed him, giving him in exchange the citadel of Najm and the town of Sarūj, both of which al-'Ādil later took back.

When his empire had thus become so widespread, al-'Ādil divided it between his sons, so that he and they ruled from Khilāṭ to the Yemen. Al-'Ādil saw in his sons traits that could be greatly esteemed, because of their extension of the kingdoms and their many victories over the enemy. It has never been heard of a king that he was able to see in his sons what al-'Ādil saw in his. Each one of them united intelligence, generosity, nobleness, ability, understanding, distinguished virtue, and high ambition, in a measure that has never been surpassed. The godly honored them, and they ruled the choicest of lands. Al-'Ādil constantly visited the kingdoms of his sons, but mostly he would summer in Damascus and winter in Egypt.

Al-'Ādil possessed an insatiable appetite for food, and could devour a whole roast sheep by himself. He had an immense capacity for conjugal intercourse, and in general enjoyed a luxurious life, in all his affairs securing much happiness. His conduct was praiseworthy and his faith sound. He was adroit in diplomacy, skilled in the minute examination of affairs, and well schooled by experience so that his views were propitious and his projects successful. He did not see it wise to engage his enemy openly, preferring rather in his designs to use guile and deception. The Franks made peace with him on account of the strength of his resolution, his alert prudence, his capacious intellect, his resource in stratagems, his craft, his persisting

cunning and wiliness, and his long patience, sufferance, and forbearance, such that if he heard of something he liked not, he would feign not to have noticed it, thus overlooking and absolving, as if report of it had never reached him. He drew no money save on necessity, when he would spend generously, hesitating not in expenditure. But when there was no need to draw money, he was niggardly and close-handed. From this his designs reached fruition as he wished, and affairs developed for him as he chose. He was scrupulous in saying the prescribed prayers at the appointed times, and was faithful to the religious law [*sunnah*] and generous to the learned doctors in Muslim law [*‘ulamā’*]; with all this was the grandeur and awe he inspired in all hearts. The Imām Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Rāzi composed the book *The Foundations of Holiness* [*Ta’sīs al-Taqdīs*]⁵⁷ for him, and sent it to him from Khurāsān.

Al-‘Ādil died at the age of seventy-five, although some say seventy-three. He left a vast fortune, part of which was in his treasury and was seized by his son al-Mu‘azzam; it amounted to 700,000 Egyptian *dīnārs*, and in addition was the sum at Karak, which al-Mu‘azzam also appropriated.

Al-Mu‘azzam wrote to his brothers to inform them of their father’s death. Al-Malik al-Kāmil sat to receive visits of condolence in his camp outside Damietta. The death of his father filled him with alarm, on account of the danger from the Franks.

CHAPTER 5

The Reign of al-Kāmil, Son of al-‘Ādil

*The Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil
Nāṣir-al-Dīn Abū-l-ma‘ālī
Muḥammad, Son of al-Malik al-
‘Ādil Abū-Bakr Ibn-Ayyūb*

Al-Kāmil was the sixth (Ayyūbid) King of Egypt, and succeeded to the kingdom after the death of his father, al-‘Ādil, on the seventh of Jumādā al-Ākhirah in the year 615 [31st August, 1218], as his father had willed during his lifetime. When news of his father's death reached him he was positioned at al-Ādilīyah and engaged with the Franks. They had seized the western banks of the Nile, and had captured the tower and cut the chains connected with it so that their ships might sail up the Nile. They were thus enabled to advance into Egypt.

To prevent the Franks from passing up the Nile, al-Kāmil had laid a great boom [*jisr*] to take the place of the chains. The Franks assaulted it with much vigor until they broke through it. More than 70,000 *dīnārs* had been spent on the tower and boom. Al-Kāmil then commanded a number of vessels to be sunk in the Nile. This stopped the Franks from sailing up the river, and they therefore turned to a canal nearby known as al-Azraq, into which the Nile had once flowed. They deepened it and channeled the water through it to the Mediterranean. They thus could pass their ships through it to the neighborhood of Būrah¹ in the district of Damietta, and opposite al-Kāmil's camp, and attack him from that point. When the Franks had established themselves in Būrah they attacked al-Kāmil, fighting him on the river and engaging him a number of times without gaining any advantage. The citizens of Damietta suffered no hardship from all this. Reinforcements and supplies continued to reach them, for the Nile ran between them and the Franks.

The gates of the city remained open, and it was submitted to no siege or constriction whatever.

The nomad Arabs were meantime making nightly raids on the Franks, thereby denying them sleep. The Arabs tormented them to the extent even of foraying by day and carrying off the contents of their tents. The Franks laid a number of ambushes against them, and killed many of them. Then winter fell and the sea dashed over the Muslim camp, submerging the tents and causing much anxiety and great affliction. Meanwhile the Franks pressed the struggle, and it seemed that they were sure to conquer the country. God—Glory to Him—sent a wind which broke the moorings of a Frankish ship [*maram-mah*] which was one of the wonders of the world. It moved across to the banks on which the Muslims were, who captured it. Plated with iron and immune from fire, its length was five hundred cubits, and a single one of its nails weighed twenty-five *ratls*.

The Sultan despatched seventy envoys to distant parts to enlist the help of the Islamic peoples in the war against the Franks, urging them to relieve and deliver the Muslims from the Franks, and warning them that the Franks might conquer Egypt, after which nothing would prevent them from conquering other lands. The messengers set out in the month of Shawwāl, and reinforcements arrived from Ḥamāh and Aleppo.

When intelligence of al-ʿĀdil's death reached the soldiers, sedition rose against al-Kāmil. The Arabs on the frontiers of Egypt revolted, and caused much damage with their transgressions. At the same time the Emir ʿImād-al-Dīn Aḥmad, son of the Emir Sayf-al-Dīn Abū-l-Ḥusayn ʿAlī ibn-Aḥmad al-Hakkāri, commonly known as Ibn-al-Masḥūb, rebelled. He was the most distinguished of the great emirs, and had behind him a horde of Hakkāri Kurds whom he paid and who obeyed him completely. In spite of this he possessed the absolute confidence of the (Ayyūbid) kings, and was considered by them to be one of them. He was known for his high ambition and great prodigality, his wide generosity, and his courage. Kings stood in awe of him, and his revolts against them were celebrated. His father, at the time of his death, held Nablus in fief, and the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-Ayyūb allotted a

third of its revenues to the administration of Jerusalem while enfeoffing the remainder to this 'Imād-al-Dīn, his son. He continued to enjoy consideration throughout the reign of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn.

'Imād-al-Dīn concerted with a group of Kurds and soldiers to depose al-Malik al-Kāmil, and to enthrone the Sultan's brother al-Fā'iz Ibrāhīm, expecting thus to gain dominion throughout the empire. The emirs 'Izz-al-Dīn al-Ḥamīdi, Asad-al-Dīn al-Hakkāri, and Mujāhid-al-Dīn, as well as a number of other emirs, joined him in the conspiracy. When the word of this reached al-Kāmil he entered upon them and found them assembled, with a Koran before them, swearing allegiance to his brother al-Fā'iz. When they perceived al-Kāmil they separated, but he was fearful of them and went out.

At this conjuncture the Ṣāḥib Ṣafī-al-Dīn ibn-Shukr arrived from Āmid, summoned by al-Kāmil upon the death of his father. Al-Kāmil received him with honor and apprised him of the gathering of the emirs. The Ṣāḥib encouraged him, and guaranteed to collect money and arrange affairs. When night fell, al-Kāmil rode from his camp at al-'Ādilīyah with an escort of cavalry and came to Ushmūm Ṭannāḥ² and there encamped.

The soldiers awoke to find that they had lost their Sultan. Each one rode away as he willed, none caring for the other, leaving their baggage, their tents, their properties, and their weapons, and taking away nothing that was not light to carry. At once the Franks were active, and crossed over to Damietta in complete security, without obstacle or resistance. They captured all that was in the Muslim camp, which was booty beyond computation. This took place on the twenty-first of Dhū'l-Qa'dah [8th February, 1219]. The Franks had disembarked opposite Damietta on Tuesday the second of Rabī' al-Awwal in the year 615 [29th May, 1218], and they took up their position on the eastern bank, on which was the city of Damietta, on Tuesday the sixth of Dhū'l-Qa'dah in the year 616 [13th January, 1220].³

Al-Malik al-Kāmil was greatly disturbed and thought of quitting Egypt, but then took heart. His troops returned to his banner, and after two days, on the eighteenth of Dhū'l-Qa'dah [5th February, 1219], his brother al-Mu'aẓẓam, prince

of Damascus, arrived, while al-Kāmil was at Ushmūm. He was much emboldened and inspirited by his brother, to whom he revealed the conduct of Ibn-al-Mashtūb. Al-Mu‘azzam promised to rid him of the man. He rode at once to Ibn-al-Mashtūb’s tent, and invited him to accompany him for a ride. The emir requested al-Mu‘azzam to wait while he put on his robes and headdress, but al-Mu‘azzam gave him no respite and urged him to bestir himself. Ibn-al-Mashtūb thereupon rode out with the prince, and did so feeling alarmed. Al-Mu‘azzam rode beside him until they left the encampment and were distant from it. Al-Mu‘azzam then turned to Ibn-al-Mashtūb and said: “O ‘Imād-al-Din, this land belongs to you. I would like you to give it to us.” He thereupon gave Ibn-al-Mashtūb a sum of money and turned him over to a group of his officers whom he trusted and whom he had prepared for this business. He charged them to accompany Ibn-al-Mashtūb until he had passed through the desert,⁴ and to watch him well until he came to Syria. Ibn-al-Mashtūb found no way to refuse or resist, being alone among them. In this manner they escorted him to Syria. Coming to Ḥamāh, he found the roof of al-Malik al-Mansūr, having with him four servants.

When Ibn-al-Mashtūb had been sent on his way, al-Mu‘azzam returned to his brother al-Kāmil. He bade his brother al-Fā’iz to repair to the Ayyūbid princes in Syria and the eastern provinces as al-Malik al-Kāmil’s ambassador with the mission of summoning the soldiers of Islam to the deliverance of Damietta and Egypt from the Franks. Al-Kāmil wrote to his brother al-Ashraf (Mūsā)⁵ Shāh of the Armenians, urging his early presence:

O Bringer of Fortune to me, if truly my helper thou art,
Rise up with no stay or delay;
Urge hard your young camel, swift running, heart-throbbing,
Distressed in her going, hard-driven.
Pass straight through the camp-sites if you can,
And say not "Ukh" to make thy camel kneel
 (for the rider to dismount)
Save at the door of al-Malik al-Ashraf.
Convey to him the greetings of his slave
Who waits his coming, all expectant;
And when thou arrivest 'neath his protection say to him:

Concerned be with good deeds, friendly be and kindly.
 If thou comest to thy slave soon thou shalt find him
 Midst all courtesy and good-breeding.
 But if thou tarriest in his rescue, then shalt thou meet him
 Rather, on the Day of Judgment, midst the flashings of lightning.

Al-Fā'iz set out—the whole purpose was to obtain his removal from Egypt—and reached Damascus, whence he moved on to Ḥamāh and then to the eastern provinces. When al-Kāmil's affairs had been settled, his authority strengthened, and the foundations of his governance arranged, al-Mu'azzam left him.

Meanwhile the Franks had encircled Damietta by land and sea, besieging it and putting its inhabitants to sore straits while preventing foods from reaching the city. Around their camp investing Damietta they dug a fosse, against which they built a wall. The citizens of the city resisted with great vigor, and God granted them patience so that they stood firm despite the shortage of food and the extreme dearness of prices.

Al-Kāmil meanwhile was preparing to attack the Franks, who were entrenched between him and Damietta. No one of his party had ever entered the city save one of his *jandars*,⁶ who had come to Cairo from one of the villages of Ḥamāh called Shamāyil, and had achieved a place in the Sultan's escort as a *jandar*. Risking his life he swam the Nile, with Frankish vessels surrounding him, for the river was filled with their warships. He made good his entry into Damietta and returned to the Sultan with news of its citizens. His arrival had strengthened their hearts, and he had assured them of the imminent arrival of reinforcements. This act won him great favor with al-Kāmil, who advanced him rapidly and made him commander of his *jandars* and personal executioner [*sayf naqamatihī*]. He also made him governor of Cairo, and the Shamāyil Warehouse is so named after him. In Damietta was an emir called Jamāl-al-Dīn al-Kinānī who wrote the following verses and sent them to al-Kāmil by an arrow:

O my King, Damietta is a port with its battlements torn down,
 Its foundations well-nigh uprooted;
 Welcome it gives you, with choice salutations and greetings,
 Like musk, fragrant, subtle, and fine.

It says from afar, if thou hearken,
Even as though thou art neighbor or guest:
O King of whom is not seen
'Mongst kings his equal or like.
This letter makes clear the position
I cannot explain to your person.
To you I complain of an evil foe
Whose horsemen and horses are all encompassed;
To whom the land is denied as a way,
And the sea forbends victory by his fleet.
His submission appears on his towers
With his tears, lamentations and wails.
Were he able to go to thy door he would have,
But the way to your answering his prayers
Was denied him and his envoy,
According to the religion of God, and His Creation, and Prophet.
His cures are over and his maladies take hold
And his wasting away approaches.
There remains to him bare existence causing him to hope
To find a remedy against what called you against him.
So guard yourself with firmness and by it you will cure
A malady from which, in someone like you, a cure can be hoped.
For God gave you much from his favor
Though small is his contentment in that;
For excuse in not fighting for the victory of God and his faith
Is permissible never to Muslims.
The port faces you, surrounded,
So that its neglect makes one weary with tears;
And shouldst thou abstain from its succor
Its bloom will wither and its fading become plain;
The power of the Koran will wane
While the crosses are uplifted and the Gospel is read,
And the echoes of the church bells resound through the regions
To block from men's ears the *tahlil*.^{*}
This is the true picture of its condition,
A summing up of its particulars.
But enough for you O son of the Most Noble
That the wails of man are revealed to you.
Hope is confirmed in you who never disappoints,
Hope in your liberality.
Store up for the Day of Resurrection, in practice and devoutly.
God guarantees His reward and His security.

^{*}The Muslim profession of faith: "There is no deity but God."

When the Sultan had finished reading these verses he com-

manded the people of Cairo and Miṣr to rise for the holy war. The year ended with the affairs in that state.

In the same year, al-Malik al-Ghālib Kaykāwūs, son of Kaykhusraw, son of Qilij Arslān, Sultan of Rūm, called upon al-Malik al-Afdal Nūr-al-Dīn 'Alī, son of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf, to come to him. Al-Afdal was at Samosata, where he caused the *khutbah* to be said in al-Ghālib's name. When he arrived at the court of al-Ghālib, the Sultan treated him with great honor, lavishing on him money, horses, weapons, and other gifts. They agreed to march upon the kingdom of Aleppo and take possession of it, upon the terms that al-Malik al-Ghālib should give it, together with the other places he might conquer, to al-Malik al-Afdal, who was to strike coinage in them and have the *khutbah* pronounced in al-Ghālib's name and hold them in vassalage to that monarch. When this had been arranged they marched eastward, and took Harrān, Edessa, and other cities. They then moved to the citadel of Ra'bān,⁷ and it was seized and delivered to al-Afdal. The people were well inclined to al-Afdal, and out of their love for him they rallied to al-Malik al-Ghālib. The two princes continued their progress and came to Tell Bāshir, which they besieged and overcame. But al-Ghālib did not hand over this citadel to al-Afdal, but instead placed in it a governor in his name. Al-Afdal therefore left him, his interest having cooled, for he knew that this was the beginning of betrayal. The population of the country likewise turned from al-Ghālib. The citizens of Aleppo prepared to resist, and invoked the aid of al-Malik al-Ashraf who encamped beside Lake Quds⁸ over against the Franks. He thereupon marched to Aleppo with his army, and the Ṭayy and other Arab tribes as well arrived outside the city. Al-Afdal counseled al-Malik al-Ghālib to march on Manbij. This the Sultan did, but the Arabs fell upon his vanguard and put it to flight and, aided by troops of al-Ashraf, took many prisoners. Upon this, al-Malik al-Ghālib returned to his country, and al-Ashraf advanced and took possession of Ra'bān and Tell Bāshir.

In this year died al-Malik al-Qāhir 'Izz-al-Dīn Mas'ūd ibn-Arslān Shāh ibn-Mas'ūd ibn-Mawdūd ibn-'Imād-al-Dīn Zangī ibn-Āqsunqur, prince of Mosul, on the twenty-seventh of Rabī' al-Awwal [23rd June, 1218], having reigned for seven years and nine months.

After him reigned his son Nūr-al-Dīn Arslān Shāh, who was ten years of age. The Emir Badr-al-Dīn Lu'lu' acted as his regent and atabeg, and they were acknowledged by the Caliph al-Nāṣir.

The Year 616 (A.H.)

[19th March, 1219–7th March, 1220]

This year al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn-al-Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn-ʿUmar ibn-Shāhanshāh ibn-Ayyūb, prince of Ḥamāh, joined al-Malik al-Kāmil with a strong army. With him was the *ṭawāshi* Murshid al-Manṣūrī. The Sultan went out to meet him and treated him with the highest honor, seating him on his right, the place reserved for his father and his grandfather in the presence of the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf.

Al-Fāʿiz Ibrāhīm, son of al-ʿĀdil, reached his brother al-Ashraf Mūsa bearing the request of their brother al-Kāmil for help against the Franks. Al-Ashraf welcomed him, and kept him with him. The intention had been, indeed, to keep him from Egypt.

This year the Franks increased the severity of their attacks, and caused great affliction to the people of Damietta, which contained some 20,000 fighting men. They were exhausted by sickness, and prices rose so high that an egg cost several *dīnārs*. The streets were filled with corpses. Victuals were lacking, sugar being as rare as rubies and meat absolutely not to be found. Things came to such a pass that the people had nothing to eat but a very little wheat and barley.

The Franks scaled the walls and captured the city on Tuesday, five days from the end of the month of Shaʿbān [5th November, 1219], the siege having lasted sixteen months and twenty-two days. When the Franks took the city, they put its inhabitants to the sword, so many being killed that their number could not be known.

Two days later the Sultan removed and encamped opposite Ṭalkhā, at the confluence of the Ashmūm and Damietta branches (of the Nile), pitching his tent in the place called al-Manṣūrah. The Franks fortified the walls of Damietta, and turned the mosques into churches. They sent detachments into the villages slaying and taking prisoners, causing great adversity. The Sultan charged certain persons to go to the various parts of the land;

they went forth to the remotest districts imploring the people's aid in delivering the land of Egypt from the Franks. In the encampment of al-Manṣūrah the Sultan commenced to build houses, emporiums, baths, and marketplaces.

The Franks despatched their Muslim prisoners by sea to Acre, and took the field from Damietta with the intent of taking Miṣr and Cairo. They took up their position facing al-Manṣūrah, with the two (Nile) branches of Ashmūm and Damietta lying between them and the Muslim army. The Franks numbered 200,000 foot and 10,000 horse. The Sultan posted a squadron of a hundred sail [*shawāni*] off al-Manṣūrah. Meantime the inhabitants of Cairo, Miṣr and all the other localities between Aswān and Cairo assembled. The Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn Yūnus and the *faqīh* Taqī-al-Dīn Ṭāhir al-Maḥalli arrived and led out the people of Cairo and Miṣr. A general call to arms was sounded, and not a soul was to stay behind. It was bruited that the king of the Franks had divided the lands of Egypt into fiefs for his officers. The verses ran:

They threaten us with (the fate of) the people of Acre,
That they will conquer us and the men of Jaffa.
Who among us can protect us?
Yet the Christians [Rūm] we prefer to the Rīfs⁹

For the Rīfs, whose power had greatly increased, had designs on the empire of the Sultan, but concealed them while he diverted the Franks from them. The Emir 'Alā-al-Dīn Jildak and the Emir Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Ṣayram went out and collected the people between Cairo and the extreme Eastern District¹⁰ [*ḥawd*] (of the delta). Thus a number of Muslims beyond computation were assembled.

The Sultan sent two thousand horsemen and thousands of Arabs into the neighborhood of Shārimṣāḥ¹¹ to come between the Franks and Damietta. The sea-aquadron [*shawāni*], with a large fire-ship, advanced to the head of the Maḥallah canal,¹² commanded by the Emir Badr-al-Dīn ibn-Ḥassūn. Thus were the Franks cut off from supplies both by land and by sea. Reinforcements for al-Kāmil arrived from Syria. A number of Franks came from across the sea to reinforce those that

were in Damietta, whereby the city was filled with an innumerable host of them. When they were all assembled in Damietta they issued forth, eager and armored, impelled by their ill intent to conquer the land of Egypt and from there to take possession of all the kingdoms of the world.

The first of the reinforcements to reach the Muslims was al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsa, son of al-ʿĀdil, and the last al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā. In between them came the remainder of the princes, namely: al-Manṣūr, prince of Ḥamāh; al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Qilij Arslān; al-Mujāhid, prince of Ḥimṣ; al-Amjad Bahrām Shāh, prince of Baalbek; and others. The Franks were awed by what they observed. These reinforcements began to arrive on the twenty-third of Jumādā al-Ākhirah in the year 618 [14th August, 1221],¹³ and continued until the number of Muslim horsemen was almost 40,000. The Muslims assailed the Franks by land and sea, capturing from them six galleys [*shawāni*], a galleass [*jalāsah*], and a transport [*baṭasah*], and taking 2,200 men prisoner. They also defeated three contingents of the Franks, who were much depressed by this. They became oppressed by their position, and sent to ask for peace, as shall be related if God pleases.

In this year died Quṭb-al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of ʿImād-al-Dīn Zangī ibn-Mawdūd, prince of Sinjār. His son ʿImād-al-Dīn Shāhanshāh succeeded him, but was murdered by his brother al-Amjad ʿUmar. Nūr-al-Dīn Arslān Shāh, prince of Mosul, also died. The Emir Badr-al-Dīn Luʿluʾ succeeded him on behalf of his brother Nāṣir-al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn-al-Qāhir ʿIzz-al-Dīn, who was three years of age.

This year al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ordered the dismantling of Jerusalem, fearing that the Franks would gain possession of it. The walls of the city and all the towers were razed, save the Tower of David, which lay to the west of the city. Al-Muʿazzam caused all the inhabitants to leave, only a very few remaining; and he removed all the weapons and engines of war in the city. The Muslims were thrown into great distress by the dismantling of Jerusalem and the loss of Damietta. Al-Muʿazzam even destroyed that citadel of Mount Tabor, which his father al-ʿĀdil had built, leaving not a trace.

This year the Caliph al-Nāṣir sent letters to all the princes enjoining them to give aid to al-Malik al-Kāmil at Damietta.

‘Izz-al-Dīn Kaykāwūs ibn-Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Kaykhusraw ibn-Qilij Arslān ibn-Mas‘ūd ibn-Qilij Arslān, ruler of Konia, died this year, after seizing Arzan al-Rūm¹⁴ from his uncle Tughril Shāh, son of Qilij Arslān. He had taken Ankūriyah¹⁵ from his brother Kayqabād and become Sultan of Rūm. His brother ‘Alā-al-Dīn Kayqabād¹⁶ succeeded him.

This year the Tartars made their first appearance. They dwelt in the mountains of Tamghāj in (north) China, at a distance of more than six months’ journey from Turkestan. They conquered a great part of the Islamic territories. They had no special religion; yet they acknowledged Almighty God, although they followed no code of religious law. They overran China, their King being Jenghis-Khan, and then moved across to Turkestan and Kashghar and conquered those lands. They made an incursion into the confines of the land of the Sultan ‘Alā’-al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Khwārizm Shāh Tukush, son of Alp Arslān Muḥammad, son of Jaghri Beg Dāwūd, son of Mikāil, son of Saljūq. They then subjugated Bukhāra and other cities of Iran.

The Year 617 (A.H.)

[8th March, 1220–24th February, 1221]

This began and ended with fighting in progress between the Muslims and the Franks before Damietta around the encampment of al-Manṣūrah. The Tartars won Samarqand this year; they also routed the Sultan ‘Alā-al-Dīn (of Rūm), and they subdued al-Rayy, Hamadhān, and Qazwīn. They waged war with the Georgians, and conquered Farghānah, Tirmidh, Khwārizm, Khurāsān, Marw, Nīsāpūr, Ṭūs, Herat, and Ghaznah.

Al-Ashraf Mūsa, son of al-‘Ādil, became master of Māridin and Sinjār this year. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-‘Umar ibn-Shāhanshāh ibn-Ayyūb ibn-Shādi, prince of Hamāh, died this year. He was a leader and consultant in several branches of learning, and composed some excellent verse. He died in the month of Dhū-l-Qa’dah at the age of fifty, having reigned for thirty years. His eldest son, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn Maḥmūd, was at the time in the camp

of his uncle al-Malik al-Kāmil at al-Manṣūrah fighting the Franks, and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Qilij Arslān, (another) son of al-Manṣūr mounted the throne, being then seventeen years of age. This enraged his brother al-Muẓaffar, who sought leave of al-Malik al-Kāmil to return to Ḥamāh, thinking to become its sovereign, he being the rightful heir of his father. Al-Kāmil granted him permission, and he set out. But al-Malik al-Muʿazzam met him in the Jordan Valley and frightened him from opposing his brother. Al-Muẓaffar tarried in Damascus, and then returned to al-Malik al-Kāmil, who gave him a fief, so that he stayed in his uncle's service.

Ṣafī-al-Dīn ibn-Shukr increased his exactions on the rich, both merchants and officials, in Miṣr and Cairo. He imposed certain donations on properties, which were collected from people like taxes. Ibn-Shukr created many incidents, but he collected most sums.

This year the Franks were more than ever eager to conquer Egypt. They resolved to advance on the Muslims and drive them from their encampment and so possess the land.

The year ended with the Franks confronting the Muslims at the confluence of the Ashmūm and Damietta branches (of the Nile).

Prices became dear this year in Egypt, wheat reaching the price of three *dīnārs* an *irdabb*. It was one of the most afflictive winters, and most severe on the people of Egypt.

The Sharīf Abū-ʿAzīz Qatādah ibn-Abī Mālīk Idrīs ibn-Muṭāʿin ibn-ʿAbd-al-Karīm ibn-ʿĪsā ibn-Ḥusayn ibn-Sulaymān ibn-ʿAlī ibn-ʿAbdullāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Mūsa ibn-ʿAbdullāh ibn-Mūsa ibn-ʿAbdullāh ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-ʿAlī ibn-Abī-Ṭālib—may God be pleased with him—Sultan of Mecca, died this year in Mecca at the end of the month of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [31st August, 1220], at the age of ninety. He had composed good verse. He had been to Egypt more than once, accompanied by his brother Abū-Mūsa ʿĪsā. He was born and brought up in Yanbuʿ. His son Ḥasan ibn-Qatādah ruled Mecca after him. Rājīḥ ibn-Qatādah fell out with his brother and cut off the road between Mecca and ʿArafah¹⁷ at the time of the pilgrimage. But Aqbāsh, the emir of the Iraq pilgrimage, arrested him. The Sharīf Ḥasan sent an offer of money to

Aqbāsh if he would deliver Rājih to him, but Rājih offered him more. Aqbāsh determined to deliver Mecca to Rājih and was killed; Rājih fled to al-Malik al-Mas'ūd¹⁸ in the Yemen.

The Year 618 (A.H.)

[25th February, 1221–14th February, 1222]

The strength of the Franks increased this year, on account of the arrival of reinforcements by sea. Al-Malik al-Kāmil despatched a succession of messengers requesting help, and the princes came to him, as has been described. The fighting became intense both by land and by sea, for both sides had assembled a number of fighting men that only God could know. The ordinary people flung themselves upon the Franks with even greater ardor than the soldiers. A portion of the army advanced to one of the Nile's canals in the western part (of the Delta) known as the Maḥallah Canal, and there engaged the Franks. The Muslim warships [*shawāni*] ascended the Nile to bring to action the Frankish ships [*shawāni*], and captured three sail with their crews and armament.

Meanwhile envoys were arriving from the Franks seeking peace on terms which included their receiving Jerusalem, Ascalon, Tiberias, Jabalah, and Laodicea, as well as all the places on the Palestine coast [*al-Ṣāhil*] that the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn had conquered. The princes consented to this with the exception of Karak and Shawbak. But the Franks replied saying: "We will not render up Damietta until you have relinquished all those places." Al-Kāmil acceded, but the Franks again refused, this time saying: "You must give us 500,000 *dīnārs* with which to repair the walls of Jerusalem that you have destroyed, in addition to the cities already mentioned, with Karak and Shawbak as well."

The Muslims were therefore compelled to fight them and be patient. A detachment of them crossed the Maḥallah Canal to the ground on which the Franks had pitched their camp and opened a great breach in the Nile's bank. It was the time of the Nile's flooding, and the first night of the (Coptic) month of Tūt [September]. Now the Franks had no knowledge of the geographical conditions of Egypt, nor of the character

of the Nile. They perceived nothing until the water had submerged most of the terrain on which they stood. The ground between them and Damietta was transformed, and there was no way for them to move along save by one narrow track. The Sultan instantly ordered that pontoons be placed across the Ushmūm Ṭannāḥ branch, and when this was done the Muslim army crossed over on them and held the road the Franks were taking to Damietta. The Franks were surrounded on all sides. Then God—may He be praised—disposed that a great ship [*marammah*] should arrive in the roadstead, surrounded by a number of fire-ships [*ḥarraqāt*]. It was filled with provisions and weapons, and everything else that was needed. The Muslim ships engaged them, and a battle ensued. God bestowed victory on the Muslims, who defeated the ship and its escort vessels.

Thus crumbled the Frankish prospects of success, and fear and languor entered their hearts. After they had been at the height of arrogance and harshness, they realized that they were irretrievably undone.

The Muslims augmented their chastisement by volleys of arrows and by attacks on the flanks. The Franks of one mind decided to hurl themselves upon the Muslims, thinking that thereby they might reach Damietta. They therefore burned their huts and their mangonels, and prepared to break through the Muslim in one thrust. But they found no way to do this, so pervading was the mud and water that covered the ground around them. Nor could they remain, having but little food left to them. Peace seemed therefore sweet to them, and they sent to seek it of al-Kāmil and his brothers al-Ashraf and al-Mu'azzam. They asked for safe conduct for themselves in return for surrendering Damietta without compensation.

Al-Kāmil was of a mind to accede, but his brothers were for battle and the utter extirpation of the enemy. Al-Kāmil feared, however, that if this course were taken, the garrison in Damietta would refuse to surrender it, and so compel them to a long siege. The city had very strong walls which the Franks had fortified still more when they had gained it, and it could not be certain that the siege would be so long that the Frankish kings would send help to the defenders, in

vengeance for those of their noblemen who had been killed. At the same time the Muslim soldiers were complaining, being weary of so long a war, for they had been fighting the Franks for three years and several months.

Al-Kāmil did not cease to urge the other princes to grant safe conduct to the Franks until they agreed. They stipulated that the Franks should surrender some of their kings, not just generals, until Damietta was surrendered. The Franks in turn demanded that a son of al-Kāmil should remain with them as a pledge until their hostages were returned. This was agreed, and the Muslim and Frankish princes gave their oath to the arrangement on the seventh of Rajab. The Franks sent twenty princes as hostages, among them being King John¹⁹ of Acre, and the Papal Legate.²⁰ Al-Malik al-Kāmil sent his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, then fifteen years of age, with a number of the youth's companions. When the Frankish princes arrived al-Kāmil gave them a splendid banquet. His brothers the kings, and the members of his household, presented themselves in audience before him outside al-Bar-amūn,²¹ on Wednesday the nineteenth of Rajab. The Franks were astounded at the splendor they beheld, and the magnificence of the occasion.

Frankish priests and monks proceeded to Damietta to surrender it to the Muslims, and it was surrendered on Wednesday the nineteenth of Rajab. On the very day that the Muslims had taken possession of the city, a powerful reinforcement arrived for the Franks, said to number a thousand vessels. Their delay until after the city had been surrendered by the Franks must be deemed a beneficent work of God—may He be praised. For on taking over Damietta, the Muslims perceived that the Franks had carried out such fortifications that it would have been utterly impossible to carry the city by storm.

The Sultan released his Frankish hostages; and al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (son of al-Kāmil) and those with him were in their turn released. A truce was concluded between the Muslims and the Franks for a period of eight years, each side to set at liberty all its prisoners. The Sultan and his brothers, and the Frankish kings, swore to observe the truce, and the armies dispersed. The period of the Frankish occupation of Damietta

was one year, ten months, and twenty-four days. Al-Malik al-Kāmil made his entry into Damietta with his troops and his family, to the accompaniment of great joy and much jubilation. The Franks left for their countries; and the Sultan returned to the Citadel of the Mount on Wednesday the twelfth of Ramaḍān. The vizir al-Ṣāhib Ṣafī-al-Dīn ʿAbdullāh ibn-ʿAli ibn-Shukr entered Cairo by the Nile and released all the prisoners in that city and Miṣr. Among them were men who had been captured in the time of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn. The Franks likewise released the Muslim prisoners in their countries.

When the Franks departed, al-Kāmil's brothers al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā and al-Ashraf Mūsā met with him one evening, and al-Ashraf commanded his slave-girl Sitt al-Fakhr to sing, which she did to her lute, as follows:

"When the 'Pharaoh' of Acre in his ambition became insolent, and marched on Egypt to disrupt it, Mūsā²² came against him, rod in hand, and drowned him and his in the waters."

Al-Ashraf was enchanted, and said to the girl: "Repeat it." But al-Kāmil was displeased and ordered the slave-girl to stop. He then said to his own slave-girl: "Do thou sing," and she sang also, to her lute: "O ye infidels rise and ponder what has happened in our time again; Consider O followers of ʿĪsā [Jesus]²³ that ʿĪsā and his kindred, Mūsā [Moses] and all have come to the aid of Muḥammad." Al-Kāmil was delighted with her, and commanded that five hundred *dīnārs* be given to her and to the slave-girl of his brother al-Ashraf. The illustrious Qāḍi Hibat-Allāh ibn-Maḥāsin, the qāḍi of Gaza, who was among the party, then rose and recited:

God the Creator favored us with victory,
Manifest, boonful, great, and restoring;
Fate gleamed where it had somber been,
And the face of polytheism had been black with oppression.
When the vast ocean raged it foamed around the tyrants' ships.
He set up for this faith one who drew out his burnished resolve
As he drew out a naked sword.
You saw not but every body stricken down
And buried, else you saw it in shackles.
He proclaimed the Voice of Being through the land,
Raising his voice among throbbing hearts and adjuring.

Consider O followers of 'Isā that 'Isā and his kindred,
And Mūsa and all have come to the aid of Muḥammad.

It is said that this assembly took place at al-Manṣūrah.

When al-Kāmil was well settled on his throne, his brothers repaired to their own kingdoms. The good news of the taking of Damietta by the Muslims spread over the world. Meantime the Tartars had broken over the kingdoms of Asia [al-Sharq]. In Egypt and Syria the people had been in danger of having their well-being obliterated by the Franks, until God bestowed His benefits and disclosed His favors, granting victory to His worshipers and succoring them after the Faithful had been sorely afflicted and put to great fear.

Al-Malik al-Kāmil received many poems felicitating him upon his victory, the first of them being from Sharaf-al-Dīn ibn-'Unayn.

Ask the backs of the horses when the war is beyond us
If they had forgotten our deeds, and the soft dates
We found as morning food before Damietta.
A host of Christians (lit. Rūm) beyond count, either of certainty
or surmised,
Had assembled, one in idea, religion, ardor,
And resolve, though differing in age.
Calling themselves Defenders of the Cross they approached,
A multitude, as if the waves were their ships.
Tempted against us by vanities, they hastened
Upon us in Holy War, and we too made speed.
The points of our spears did not cease to engage them
Until they sought refuge with us.
We had given them a cup which banished sleep,
For who can sleep the night without peace.
They had endured steadfastly and resisted
Long. But their defense was vain, nor did it avail them
To face death from the piercings of our reddened spear points.
They threw our their hands to us, and we were kind to them.
Kindness did not cease to flow from us freely;
We learned it from the hunting traditions passed from fathers
to sons,
And they had tested us before in combat.
Men learned generosity from us, and with it battle with the lance.
We are lions in war, and but for the onslaught of our spears
They would not have been ensnaked or imprisoned.

How many times were freed those we sheltered in the midday heat,
How many times was settled that which we sought.
In the midst of the king's peace misery takes hold,
While sweetness of living is plucked from bitterness.
There comes to us from the family of Ayyūb a Glorious One
Who made his resolve to settle his habitation among us.
Generous in praise, flawless, brave,
Handsome in countenance, full of goodness and good actions,
He was magnanimous to Damietta and all Sumayda',
A leader who sees in well-doing a shining opportunity.
He performed glorious deeds with his weapons.
Throughout time people will perish, but these deeds will not.
Our swords and their necks knew their places,
And should they return we shall repeat it.
We granted them a new life,
And they lived with their necks in necklaces.
Had they conquered us they would have spilled our blood freely,
But we only seized and imprisoned them.

He further wrote:

I swear by what the valleys of Mecca contain,
And what they enclose of the pilgrimage stations,
That had not Mūsa risen up to the aid of Muḥammad,
The Bishop would have ascended the steps of the pulpit.
Without him the Cross and its followers would not have been abased
In Damietta's port, and the Koran exalted.

A poem arrived also from the illustrious Qāḍi Bahā'-al-Dīn Zuhayr ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Alī al-Qūṣi, as well as from other poets.

This year the Tartars conquered Marāghah, Hamadhān, Azerbaijan, and Tibrīz. Al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Nāṣir-al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn-Qara Arslān ibn-Suqmān ibn Urtuq, the Urtuqid prince of Hiṣn Kayfa,²⁴ died this year, and his son al-Malik al-Mas'ūd Dāwūd succeeded him. In Dhū-l-Qa'dah of this year, al-Malik al-Kāmil rode from the Citadel of the Mount to the belvedere of the Šāḥib Šafi-al-Dīn ibn-Shukr on the canal in Miṣr. He discussed with ibn-Shukr the banishment of the emirs who had supported al-Fā'iz and who were then in the Damietta peninsula, engaged in its settlement. Al-Kāmil wrote to them commanding their departure from Egypt whither they would. They all removed from the peninsula to Syria. Al-Kāmil did

not interfere with any of their belongings, but their emoluments [*akhbāz*] he distributed among his mamelukes.

Amīn-al-Dīn Murtafa' ibn-al-Sha'ār, governor of Miṣr, died this year on Friday the third of Muḥarram. The governor of Tunis and the African territories, the Emir Abū-Muḥammad 'Abd-al-Wāḥid ibn-Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn-Yaḥya ibn-Abī-Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn-Wanūdīn al-Hintāti, died on Thursday the first of Muḥarram. He had been appointed governor of Tunis by al-Nāṣir Abū-'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn-Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr ibn-Yūsuf al-'Asri ibn-'Abd-al-Mu'min, the Almohade sovereign, in the year 602. He designated his eldest son, the Shaykh Abū-Zayd 'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-'Abd al-Wāḥid, as ruler of Tunis until the arrival of his brother Abū-Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn-'Abd-al-Wāḥid, charged with the governorship of Tunis by al-'Ādil 'Abdullāh ibn-al-Manṣūr Ya'qūb (the next Almohade sovereign) on the fifth of Ramaḍān in this year. Abū-Muḥammad continued to reign until his brother Abū-Zakariyā' Yaḥya ibn-'Abd-al-Wāḥid came to the throne. The Emir Abū-Muḥammad 'Abd-al-Wāḥid ibn-Abī Ḥafṣ was the first Ḥafṣid ruler of Tunis. He was the ancestor of the Ḥafṣid kings of Tunis.

The Year 619 (A.H.)

[15th February, 1222–3rd February, 1223]

Al-Ashraf Mūsa came this year to Egypt and abode there for a time with his brother the Sultan al-Kāmil, returning in the month of Ramaḍān. The Tartars fell this year upon the Georgians. Al-Muẓaffar Mūsa visited his brother al-Kāmil in Egypt.

Al-Malik al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf, son of al-Kāmil, moved from the Yemen on Mecca in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal [15th April–14th May]. Sharīf Ḥasan ibn Qatādah had left Mecca, and al-Rājih ibn-Qatādah accompanied al-Mas'ūd on the expedition. Al-Malik al-Mas'ūd restored to the people of the Hejaz their properties, their date plantations, and the houses taken from them in Mecca and its valley. After making the pilgrimage he returned to the Yemen. He refused precedence to the banner of the Caliph, and advanced the banners of his father (al-Kāmil) over those of the Caliph. He was the first—and that is not at

all praiseworthy—to shoot pellets at the doves in the sacred Ḥaram from above the Well of Zamzam, and to perform other such (blameworthy) actions.

The people of Iraq designed to kill him, but could not do so, being too weak for him. He installed the Emir Nūr-al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn-ʿAlī ibn-Rasūl²⁵ as his lieutenant in Mecca, and allotted him three hundred horsemen. The Sharīf Ḥasan ibn-Qatādah had meantime settled at Yanbuʿ. Al-Malik al-Masʿūd appointed Rājih ibn-Qatādah as governor of al-Sirrayn,²⁶ of Ḥālī,²⁷ and of Nisf Mikhlāf.²⁸ The Sharīf Ḥasan assembled an army, and marched on Mecca, defeating Ibn-Rasūl and taking Mecca from him.

In this year died the Emir ʿImād-al-Dīn Abū-l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, son of the Emir Sayf-al-Dīn Abū-l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn-Aḥmad al-Hakkāri, commonly known as Ibn-al-Mashtūb, one of the Ṣalāḥī emirs. He died in prison in Ḥarran in the month of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir.

The Year 620 (A.H.)

[4th February, 1223–23rd January, 1224]

This year al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā seized al-Maʿarrāh and Salamyah,²⁹ and laid siege to Ḥamāh. His brother al-Ashraf was much displeased at this, and being at the time in Egypt urged al-Kāmil to disapprove it. The Sultan thereupon sent word to al-Muʿazzam that he should remove from Ḥamāh, which he did, much enraged. Al-Malik al-Jawād³⁰ and al-Malik al-Fāʿiz went from Cairo on the pilgrimage. On the ascent to Mount ʿArafah, they advanced the banners of the Caliph before those of the Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil.³¹

Al-Ashraf departed this year from Egypt for his own country, taking with him from al-Kāmil a coat of honor and a patent of appointment to the sovereignty of Aleppo for al-ʿAzīz Nāṣir-al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of al-Zāhir Ghāzi. Al-Ashraf reached Aleppo in the month of Shawwāl. He was met by al-ʿAzīz, who was then ten years of age, and presented him with the Kāmili coat of honor and carried before him the horse-cloth.³² He remained for some days with al-ʿAzīz, and then left for Ḥarrān.

This year the locusts covered Iraq, the Jazīrah, Diyār-Bakr

[Āmid], and Syria. The Tartars fell upon the Russians in this year. Sahm-al-Dīn 'Īsā, governor of Cairo, who was confined in the Vizirial Palace, was hanged on the night of Thursday, the sixth of Shawwāl.

The Year 621 (A.H.)

[24th January, 1224–12th January, 1225]

This year the Tartars brought Qumm,³³ Qāshām,³⁴ and Hamadhān³⁵ under their rule. And in this year contention arose between al-Muẓaffar Ghāzi, prince of Irbil [Arbela], and his brother al-Ashraf. Al-Mu'azzam set out from Damascus to wage war with al-Ashraf, but al-Kāmil sent him a message saying: "If you move out from your country, I will march and relieve you of it." Al-Mu'azzam took fright, and returned to Damascus.

The vizir al-A'azz Abū'l-Abbās Aḥmad, commonly known as Fakhr-al-Dīn Miqdām ibn-Shukr, died in Cairo this year, the last day of the month of Sha'bān.

In this year, too, the Egyptian army took Yanbu' from the Banu-Ḥasan. They purchased it at the price of four thousand *mithqāls*.³⁶ It remained in Egyptian hands until the year A.H. 630 [18th October, 1232–6th October, 1233].

The Year 622 (A.H.)

[13th January, 1225–1st January, 1226]

This year al-Malik al-Jawād Muẓaffar-al-Dīn Yūnus ibn-Mawdūd fled from Egypt by sea,³⁷ for he was beset with fear of his uncle al-Malik al-Kāmil; he joined his other uncle al-Mu'azzam.

Al-Kāmil became apprehensive of his emirs this year because they inclined toward his brother al-Mu'azzam. He arrested a number of them, and despatched troops to guard the roads. He also sent envoys to the vassal princes of his brother al-Ashraf commanding them to take his side or they would be disobeying him.

The Sultan Jalāl-al-Dīn, son of Khwārizmshāh ('Alā'-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-Tukush) returned to his country, having gained ascendancy over the Tartars. He brought under his dominion

al-ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam,³⁸ and marched on Māridīn, which he captured, and on Khūzistān.³⁹ He then fell out with the Caliph al-Nāṣir, and marched until he came to Baʿqūbā, seven parasangs⁴⁰ from Baghdad. The Caliph prepared to withstand a siege, while Jalāl-al-Dīn despoiled the land, taking all he could lay hands on and acting more abominably than the Tartars.

Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam corresponded with this prince, and made an alliance with him to oppose his brothers al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf, prince of the eastern provinces. The Sultan Jalāl-al-Dīn despatched the son of the Qāḍi Majd-al-Dīn, qāḍi of the kingdom, with a letter to al-Ashraf, then to al-Muʿaẓẓam, and finally to al-Kāmil; a variety of prevarications resulted. Jalāl-al-Dīn marched into ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam, and took Hamadhān and Tibrīz. He then attacked the Georgians.

Al-Malik al-Afḍal ʿAlī, son of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf and prince of Samosata, died suddenly in Samosata in the month of Ṣafar [12th February–12th March]. He was born in Egypt on the Feast of the Breaking of the Fast in the year 565, or, as some say, in 566. He was the eldest of the sons of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, and he had been named by his father as his heir. He studied the Islamic traditions of Ibn-ʿAwf and Ibn Barri.⁴¹ After his father's death he ruled Damascus, but his affairs did not prosper because of his ill fortune. Damascus was taken from him by his brother al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān, Sultan of Egypt. He later became atabeg of al-Manṣūr, son of al-ʿAzīz, in Egypt. He besieged Damascus, where his uncle al-Ādil was, and was about to take it when hard luck stopped him, and he returned to Egypt. His uncle al-Ādil followed hard on his heels and dispossessed him of that land, so that nothing remained to him save Ṣarkhad. He attacked Damascus again with his brother al-Zāhir Ghāzi, prince of Aleppo, but their project did not succeed because of their disagreement. He then possessed only Samosata. When his brother al-Zāhir died, he coveted Aleppo and marched against it with the Sultan ʿIzz-al-Dīn Kaykāwūs, the Saljūq ruler of Rūm, but their enterprise failed. Al-Afḍal returned to Samosata, where he remained repressing his despair until he died of grief. He was virtuous, learned, and forbearing, and of exceeding uprightness of conduct. He wrote an elegant hand. He possessed every merit, but had little good fortune. His poems

are admirable. When his brother al-Azīz and his uncle al-Ādil Abu-Bakr dispossessed him of Damascus in the year 592 he wrote these opening lines to the Caliph al-Nāṣir complaining that they had wrung from him his father's heritage.

My Lord, Abū-Bakr and his friend
 'Uthmān seized by the sword the heritage of 'Ali.
 Observe, then, the luck of this name, how it befell
 Later as it befell before.

In the same vein he continued:

Has not the day come when the happiness I seek
 Is itself seeking me?
 Is there a chance that Fate shows me the hands of my followers,
 Permitting me one day to escape from misfortune.

The Caliph replied, saying:

Loyal is your letter O Ibn-Yūsuf proclaiming
 Affection and informing that your lineage is pure.
 They usurped 'Ali's rights
 Since after the Prophet there was no one to aid him in Yathrib
 (al-Madīnah)
 But rejoice at the good news, for to-morrow shall come their
 reckoning.
 Be patient, for the Imām al-Nāṣir shall aid thee.

Among al-Afḍal Ali's verses was:

Whoever blackens his hair with dyes
 Might perhaps among the youthful be counted.
 He dyes himself with the blackness of my fortune,
 Be sure it will not fade.

Al-Afḍal was succeeded in Samosata by his brother al-Malik al-Mufaḍḍal Qutb-al-Dīn Mūsā, but the sons of al-Afḍal rose up against him.

The Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn-Allāh Aḥmad ibn-al-Mustaḍī' bi-Amr-Allāh al-Ḥasan ibn-al-Mustanjid bi-'llāh Yūsuf died on the second of Shawwāl [7th October, 1225] in this year. He was born on the tenth of Rajab in the year 553 [7th August,

1158], and was caliph for forty-seven years, save for thirty-seven days. His mother was a slave, called Zumurrud, or, as some say, Narjis. Al-Nāṣir was astute, although of a haughty nature. He was cautious and wary, of good judgment, shrewd and crafty, and of commanding aspect. He had informants, both in Iraq and in the remoter lands, who acquainted him with particulars of all matters. Most of the affairs of his subjects were known to him, so that in Iraq a man would fear to chatter with his wife in case the caliph would hear of it and punish him. On one occasion a certain man gave a repast in Baghdad, but washed his own hands before those of his guests. The caliph learned of this from his informants and wrote on the margin of the report: "Bad manners on the part of the governor of the town (of Baghdad), and officious meddling on the part of the writer of this message."

Al-Nāṣir did not follow a just course with his subjects, being tyrannical and oppressive. In his day Iraq was ruined. His family dispersed throughout the land, and he seized their lands and possessions. He delighted to collect wealth. He would discharge business himself, riding among the people and meeting with them. He was bloodthirsty and committed atrocious acts. He took money by constraint and then gave alms. He was passionately addicted to discharging pellets at birds. He wore the Trousers of the *Futūwah*⁴² and induced the people of the capital to do likewise. Sālim ibn-Naṣr-Allāh ibn-Wāṣil al-Hamawī had composed a fine treatise on the subject of the *Futūwah*. Al-Nāṣir composed a book on his reflections entitled *The Spirit of the Gnostics* and had it read to the *faqīhs* of Egypt and Syria. He also composed poetry. It was during his caliphate that the Tartars destroyed eastern Islam, reaching even Hamadhān. For this al-Nāṣir was to blame, for he called on them to enter the land, being in fear of the Sultan 'Alā'-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-Khwārizm Shāh who proposed to hold the (secular) power in Baghdad and make it his capital as had the Saljūq Turks before him. Before his death al-Nāṣir became blind; or it is said that he could see with only one eye. He was succeeded in the caliphate by his son al-Zāhir bi-Amr-Allāh Abū-Naṣr Muḥammad [A.D. 1225-6], as willed by his father the day of his death. He was something over fifty years of age. He was

wont to say: "When will he who opens his shop in the afternoon make his first sale?" On his succession he revealed justice, ending many wrongs, liberating prisoners, and showing himself to the people. Few before him of the caliphs were willing to show themselves.⁴³

This year al-Malik al-Mas'ūd arrived in Mecca from the Yemen, thence he proceeded to Cairo by way of 'Aydhāb. He was received by his father in the Citadel of the Mount, and brought with him splendid gifts.

The vizir al-Ṣāhib Ṣafī-al-Dīn 'Abdullāh ibn-Abi-'l-Ḥasan 'Ali ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-'Abd-al-Khāliq ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Manṣūr ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-'Ammār ibn-Manṣūr ibn-'Ali al-Shaybi Abū-Muḥammad, commonly known as Ibn-Shukr, the Damīri⁴⁴ Mālikite *faqīh*, died this year in Cairo on Friday the eighth of Sha'bān—or perhaps Shawwāl. He was buried in his monastery [*ribāt*]. He was born in Damirah, an Egyptian coastal village, on the ninth of Ṣafar in the year 584. He studied the Islamic traditions of Ibn-'Awf and others, and himself taught them. He was harsh, intolerant, and haughty, and concerned to advance the base and deter the good. He reduced many men to poverty.

The Sharīf Qāsim al-Ḥusayni, Emir of Medina, marched with his army against Mecca and besieged it for about a month. In the city were officers of al-Kāmil, and the Sharīf was unsuccessful and lost his life.

The Year 623 (A.H.)

[2nd January, 1226–21st December, 1226]

This year the estrangement between al-Mu'azzam and his brothers al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf became exacerbated.

It was in this year that the Caliph al-Zāhir bi-Amr Allāh sent tokens of honor to the Ayyūbid kings by the hand of Muḥyi-al-Dīn Abū-'l-Muẓaffar, son of al-Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl-al-Dīn Abū-'l-Faraj ibn-al-Jawzi. The envoy went first to al-Ashraf Mūsa, prince of the eastern territories, and presented him with the Caliph's robe of honor. He then repaired to al-'Azīz Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of al-Zāhir, prince of Aleppo, and bestowed on him a black, wide-sleeved robe, a black, gold-

embroidered turban, and a gown, also gold embroidered. He went on to Damascus, to invest al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā, prince thereof. Thence he journeyed to Cairo with a patent of rule and a robe of honor for al-Malik al-Kāmil, and robes of honor for his sons al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb and al-Malik al-Masʿūd, as well as one for the Ṣāḥib Ṣafī-al-Dīn ibn-Shukr. Al-Malik al-Kāmil went out from Cairo with his sons (to meet the envoy), and they attired themselves in the Caliph's robes. Since the Ṣāḥib Ṣafī-al-Dīn had died, the robe of honor destined for him was put upon the Qāḍi Fakhr-al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn-Maḥmūd ibn-Abī-Ghālīb Abū-'l-Rabī of Damascus, secretary of the Chancellery of Diplomatic Correspondence.⁴⁵ Al-Kāmil went in by the Victory Gate and passed through a thronging Cairo until he ascended to the Citadel of the Mount. It was a spectacular day.

Al-Kāmil arrested the children of the Ṣāḥib Ṣafī-al-Dīn ibn-Shukr this year and confiscated all his possessions. He confined the Ṣāḥib's two sons Tāj-al-Dīn Yūsuf and ʿIzz-al-Dīn Muḥammad in the courtyard of Sahm-al-Dīn on the Aswāni road in Cairo. After Ibn-Shukr, al-Kāmil appointed no other vizir. Al-Malik al-Masʿūd returned from Cairo this year to the Yemen.

Al-Malik al-Kāmil became greatly uneasy about his army in the same year. For al-Muʿazzam had sent him a letter which said, among other things: "If you attack me, I shall seize you with your own soldiers." Al-Kāmil thereupon became filled with suspicion of those about him, and though he wished to move out from Egypt he did not dare. But al-Muʿazzam took the field, and besieged Ḥimṣ and devastated its villages and farms. But he did not prevail over the citadel and the town, because of their strong defenses. After a protracted stay, he raised the siege since many of his men and beasts were stricken by death. His brother al-Ashraf joined him with a detachment of cavalry, whereat he rejoiced exceedingly and gave al-Ashraf the warmest welcome.

The Caliph al-Zāhir bi-Amr-Allāh (Abū-Naṣr) Muḥammad ibn-al-Nāṣir died on the fourteenth of Rajab [11th June, 1226] this year, having been Caliph for nine months and nine days. His mode of life was virtuous and he was full of favors. He was succeeded by his son al-Mustanṣir bi-'llāh Abū-Ja'far al-

Mansūr [1226–42], who was then twenty years of age. Ambassadors came to him from distant kings, al-Kāmil sending Mu'in-al-Dīn Ḥasan, son of the Shaykh of Shaykhs (Ṣadr-al-Dīn) ibn-Ḥamuwayh. When Mu'in-al-Dīn reached Baghdad he stood before the vizir Mu'id-al-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad al-Qummi and said: "The servant of the Mustansiri holy state kisses the thresholds (of the caliphial palace), seeking thereby succor, and with his loyal service places his steadfast trust therein. He continues to thank God, who by the morning of joy, now become full, has dispelled the night of sorrow which spread its grief over all, until the gloom of anxiety has been lifted from the face of the sun of guidance, making thereby the word of the holy state supreme and that of its enemies the most abject, and increased it in honor and glory in this world and the next."

This year an ambassador arrived from the sovereign of Rūm, 'Alā'al-Dīn Kayqubād, bearing gifts for al-Malik al-Kāmil.

The Year 624 (A.H.)

[22nd December, 1226–11th December, 1227]

Al-Ashraf returned to his country from Damascus this year, after having given his word to al-Mu'azzam that he would aid him against their brother al-Kāmil and against al-Mujāhid, prince of Ḥimş and al-Nāsir, prince of Ḥamāh. The ambassador of the Sultan of Rūm returned from Egypt to his master.

The quarrel between al-Kāmil and his brothers al-Mu'azzam and al-Ashraf intensified. Al-Kāmil was alarmed by al-Mu'azzam's obvious leaning toward the Sultan Jalāl-al-Dīn, the son of Khwārizm Shah. He therefore sent the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Yūsuf, son of the Grand Shaykh (Ṣadr-al-Dīn ibn-Ḥamuwayh), to the king of the Franks,⁴⁶ inviting him to come to Acre and promising to give him certain of the coastal cities that were in Muslim hands if he engaged al-Mu'azzam. The emperor, ruler of the Franks, set out for the coast (of Palestine) with an army.

When word of this reached al-Mu'azzam, he wrote to the Sultan Jalāl-al-Dīn requesting his help against al-Kāmil. He undertook to include him in the *khuṭbah*, and to strike coinage

in his name. Jalāl-al-Dīn sent him a robe of honor in which he garbed himself and then rode through the streets of Damascus. He removed the invocations for al-Kāmil in the *khutbah*. When al-Kāmil heard of this, he set out from Cairo with his army, and encamped at Bilbīs in the month of Ramaḍān. Al-Mu'azzam sent to him saying: "I swear by God Most High that for every expedition you send against me I will give a thousand *dīnārs* in alms. For all your soldiers are for me, and I possess letters (to prove it). I will seize you with your own army." This letter al-Mu'azzam wrote secretly, but with it went an open letter which said: "I am your mameluke. I have not departed from love and obedience toward you. Put aside, therefore, thoughts of advancing against me. It is I, among all the kings of Syria and the eastern territories, who first march to your aid and present myself for your service." This letter al-Kāmil showed to his emirs and then returned from 'Abbāsiyyah to the Citadel of the Mount.

There he proceeded to arrest a number of the officers and mamelukes of his father on account of their having been in correspondence with al-Mu'azzam. Among them were Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Ṭunbā al-Ḥubayshi, and Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Ṭun al-Fayyūmi, emir of his jandars. He also arrested ten emirs of the 'Ādili Baḥris,⁴⁷ casting them into prison and seizing all their fortunes, which he expended on the army that it might invade Syria.

This year there arrived the ambassador of the sovereign of the Franks bearing splendid gifts and rare treasures to al-Malik al-Kāmil. Among these was a number of horses, one being the sovereign's own with a golden saddle encrusted with precious jewels. Al-Kāmil provided the ambassador with refreshments along his route from Alexandria to Cairo, and himself went out to meet him near Cairo. He received him with every show of esteem, and installed him in the house of the vizir Ṣafī-al-Dīn ibn-Shukr.⁴⁸ Al-Kāmil then addressed himself to the collection of fine gifts for the Frankish ruler, including the rarest products of India, the Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, whose cost exceeded twofold those he had been sent. They included a golden saddle studded with jewels costing ten thousand Egyptian *dīnārs*. For the delivery of these presents, al-Kāmil appointed Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Munqidh al-Shayzari.⁴⁹

An ambassador from al-Ashkari⁵⁰ arrived by sea this year to al-Malik al-Kāmil. Al-Mu‘azzam journeyed from Damascus to dismantle Jerusalem;⁵¹ he destroyed the towers and cisterns when he learned that the sovereign of the Franks had set forth.

Al-Kāmil despatched Kamāl-al-Dīn and Mu‘īn-al-Dīn, the sons of the Grand Shaykh Ibn-Ḥamuwayh, and the Sharīf Shams-al-Dīn al-Urmawī, qāḍī of the army, to the court of al-Mu‘azzam. He instructed al-Kamāl to carry the response of al-Mu‘azzam to al-Mujāhid (Asad-al-Dīn Shirkūh, prince) of Ḥimṣ, to inform him of the situation, while Mu‘īn was to go to Baghdad to hold the office of ambassador to the Caliph; they took their departure in the month of Sha‘bān.

This year the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast (of Ramaḍān) fell upon the same date as the Jewish and Christian festivals. Al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū-Bakr, son of al-Malik al-Kāmil, was circumcised on the ninth of Shawwāl.

Al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Abū-l Fath ‘Īsā, son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil, prince of Damascus, died on Friday the last day of Dhū-l-Qa’dah [11th November, 1226], in Damascus. He was buried in the citadel of that city, and was then removed to al-Ṣāliḥīyah. He was born in Damascus in the year 578 [1182]. Al-Malik al-Kāmil feared him, and rejoiced at his death. Al-Mu‘azzam was generous and brave, courteous and gentle-mannered. He was learned in divine law, and was devoted to the point of fanaticism to the school of jurisprudence of Abū-Ḥanīfah—God’s mercy upon him. He was versed in grammar and other branches of knowledge. His father once said to him: “How is it that you have chosen the doctrine of Abū-Ḥanīfah⁵² while all your family are Shāfi‘ites?”⁵³ Al-Mu‘azzam replied: “O my lord! Would you not wish that among your family you should have one single man who is a Muslim?” He wrote a work entitled *Al-Sahm al-Muṣīb fī ‘l-Radd ‘ala’ al-Khatīb* (The Arrow which Hits the Mark, Rebutting the [Baghdad] Khatīb), namely what Abū-Bakr Aḥmad ibn-Thābit wrote of Abū Ḥanīfah in his *History of Baghdad*.

Al-Mu‘azzam was headstrong, not reckoning consequences, impetuous, and careless of his clothes. It was he who provoked the Khwārizmian (Jalāl-al-Dīn) to covet the land.⁵⁴ After his father’s death he reigned for eight years and seven months less eight days.

He was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, who was then twenty-one years of age. Al-Nāṣir sent a letter to his uncle al-Kāmil, whereupon al-Kāmil went into mourning, and sent the Emir 'Alā-al-Dīn ibn-Shujā'-al-Dīn Jaldak al-Muẓaffar al-Taḳawī with a robe of honor and the sultanīc standard⁵⁵ for the young prince, and a letter of condolence. Al-Nāṣir garbed himself in the robe of honor and rode with the standard beside him. Then al-Kāmil sent to him desiring to be given the fortress of al-Shawbak so that he might make it his treasury. Al-Nāṣir refused, and from that arose the quarrel between him and his uncle.

This year al-Kāmil enjoined razing the city of Tinnīs,⁵⁶ and its strong columns and solid buildings were pulled down. In all Egypt there was no finer city, but since that time it has lain in ruins.

In the month of Rajab [17th June–16th July] the Emir Abū-Zakariyā' Yahya ibn-'Abd-al-Wāḥid ibn-Abī-Ḥafṣ proclaimed himself independent sovereign of Tunis and was styled "The Auspicious Sultan" [*al-Sultān al-Sa'īd*]. No one contended with him for the dominion of Africa, for the dynasty of 'Abd-al-Mu'min⁵⁷ had fallen into decline.

The Year 625 (A.H.)

[12th December, 1227–29th November, 1228]

Al-Malik al-Kāmil sent the Grand Shaykh Ibn-Ḥumuwayh with a robe of honor for his nephew al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, son of al-Mu'azzam, at Damascus. The envoy bore the horse-cloth⁵⁸ before the young prince, whose uncles, (al-Malik) al-'Azīz ('Uthmān, prince of Banyās) and (al-Malik) al-Ṣāliḥ ('Imād-al-Dīn Ismā'il, prince of Buṣra), then did likewise. Al-Kāmil also sent a robe of honor to al-Mūjadid, prince of Ḥimṣ.

This year al-Kāmil fell out with his nephew al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, and purposed to attack him and take Damascus from him. He named as his heir (in Egypt) his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Namj-al-Dīn Ayyūb, and caused him to ride out in the ensigns of sovereignty. Al-Ṣāliḥ rode through the streets of Cairo, the horse-cover being borne in turn before him by the emirs. Al-Kāmil installed him in the Vizirial Lodge; he was then some two and twenty years of age.

Al-Amjad Bahrām Shāh, the son of 'Izz-al-Dīn Farrukhshāh, prince of Baalbek, revealed this year injustice and oppression toward his subjects and their children and seized their possessions. A section of his troops undertook, with al-'Azīz Fakhr-al-Dīn 'Uthmān, son of al-'Ādil, to deliver Baalbek to al-'Azīz who marched on the city and laid siege to it. But al-Amjad laid hands on those who had concerted with al-'Azīz, killing some and imprisoning the rest. At the same time al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Damascus, sent men who drove al-'Azīz away from Baalbek. Much enraged, al-'Azīz repaired to al-Malik al-Kāmil, and took shelter with him. Al-Kāmil rejoiced at his coming, and gave his word to wrench Baalbek from al-Amjad and deliver it to him.

In this year al-Nāṣir Dāwūd likewise ill treated the inhabitants of Damascus, seizing their properties and, occupying himself with trivial diversions, neglected the good of the state. This distressed al-Kāmil, and gave him cause to rebuke al-Nāṣir. In the month of Rajab [6th June–6th July] he commenced preparations to attack al-Nāṣir, and appointed as regent of Egypt his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb. With him he nominated the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Yūsuf, son of the Grand Shaykh, to collect the revenues and to manage the administration of the empire.

Al-Kāmil issued forth from Cairo on Sunday, the nineteenth of Sha'bān [24th July], at the head of a considerable army. He was accompanied by al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of al-Manṣūr, to whom he had promised to deliver the town of Ḥamāh,⁵⁹ and by al-Malik al-Jawād Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yūnus, son of Mawdūd, son of al-'Ādil, who had been brought up by his uncle al-Kāmil at the death of his father and had been enfeoffed by that sovereign with al-Buḥayrah, in Egypt. When al-Nāṣir heard that his uncle had taken the field he did not try to appease him, but sought the aid of his uncle al-Ashraf. Al-Kāmil meanwhile marched with his troops and the Arabs to Tell al-'Ajūl, whence he sent troops to Nablus and Jerusalem and their dependent districts. He also despatched the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn Abū-'Ali ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Abū-'Ali al-Hadhabāni, an officer of al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn Maḥmūd, to Cairo, where al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ took him into his service and made him his

Master of the Household [*Ustādār*]. The officers of al-Kāmil proceeded to capture Nablus and Jerusalem.

When intelligence of this reached al-Nāṣir, he bound his soldiers by oath, and prepared for war. His uncle, al-Šālīḥ, prince of Buṣra, joined him, as did the Emir 'Izz-al-Dīn Aybak⁶⁰ of Šarkhad, and their accession to him gave him much heart. He sent the Emir 'Imad-al-Dīn ibn-Mūsik and Fakhr-al-Qudāt Naṣr-Allāh ibn-Biṣāqah to call his uncle al-Ashraf to his aid from the eastern territories. He ordered them followed by al-Ashraf, son of al-Qāḍi al-Fāḍil. Thereupon, al-Malik al-Ashraf replied that he would come (to his nephew's) aid. He left as his regent al-Malik al-Ḥāfiẓ ibn-al-'Adil and took the road to Damascus. He was met by (Qiliġ Arslān), the prince of Ḥamāh, coming from Salamyah with money and horses. He was also met by (Asad-al-Dīn Shīrkūh) the prince of Ḥimṣ, and his sons. Al-Ashraf progressed to Damascus where al-Nāṣir came out to receive him, in the last days of Ramaḍān [4th August–2nd September]. Damascus was bedecked for his arrival; he entered the citadel beneath a great banner, his waist girdled with a cummerbund. Al-Nāṣir rejoiced exceedingly at his coming, and granted him authority over his kingdom and his exchequer. Al-Ashraf was enchanted with Damascus, and labored secretly to wrest it from al-Nāṣir for himself. They were soon joined by al-Mujāhid Asad-al-Dīn Shīrkūh ibn-Muḥammad, prince of Ḥimṣ. But al-'Azīz, son of al-'Adil, attached himself to al-Malik al-Kāmil, joining him on the road. The Sultan was deeply gratified at his accession to him, and rewarded him lavishly.

Al-Ashraf sent the Emir Sayf-al-Dīn 'Alī ibn-Qiliġ to al-Kāmil to plead for al-Nāṣir, and to request that Damascus remain in the hands of that prince, saying: "We all are in obedience to you, and will never give up our concord with you." Al-Kāmil received the messenger with much respect; and al-Ashraf, accompanied by al-Nāṣir, set out from Damascus to meet al-Kāmil and come to terms with him and be reconciled. But when al-Kāmil heard of their journey, he was indignant, and departed from Nablus to return to Cairo. When al-Ashraf and al-Nāṣir encamped at Nablus, al-Nāṣir remained there, but al-Ashraf and al-Mujāhid moved on after al-Kāmil. The Sultan heard of al-Ashraf's advent while at Tell al-'Ajūl, and he went out

to meet him and conducted him to his camp where the two princes pitched their tents. Al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf then agreed to dispossess their nephew al-Nāṣir Dāwūd of Damascus, which, with its dependencies as far as the Fīq Defile, should go to al-Ashraf. Al-Kāmil would receive the lands and fortresses between the Fīq Defile and Gaza, being all the conquests of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn. Instead of Damascus, al-Nāṣir should receive Ḥarrān, al-Raqqah, Sarūj, and Ra's al-'Ayn, which belonged to al-Ashraf. Baalbek was to be taken from al-Amjad Bahrām and given to their brother al-'Azīz 'Uthmān. Ḥamāh should be seized from al-Malik al-Nāṣir Qilij Arslān ibn-al-Manṣūr and bestowed on al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn-al-Manṣūr, who should give up Salamiyah which should be annexed to the dominion of al-Mujāhid, prince of Ḥimṣ.

Jenghis-Khan, King⁶¹ of the Mongols and Tartars, died this year, near Ṣārūbāliq and his body was borne to his seat of government, al-Khiṭā. His youngest son was installed Great Khan after him over the core of the empire at al-Khiṭā, and three other brothers divided among themselves the remoter areas.

The Tartars invaded Muslim lands this year. They also made several attacks upon the Sultan Jalāl-al-Dīn (Khwārizm Shāh). He was defeated more than once, but finally overcame and routed them. When he was rid of them, he marched on Khilāt, which formed part of the territories of al-Ashraf, and sacked the town, captured the women, enslaved the children, killed the men, destroyed the surrounding villages, and committed acts which even infidels would not have done. After this he returned to his land, while the towns of Ḥarrān, Edessa, and surroundings were hit by an earthquake; the inhabitants of Sarūj fled to Manbij. Jalāl-al-Dīn had pondered invading Damascus, but Allah diverted him from that project.

The emperor of the Franks arrived this year at Acre, at the call of al-Malik al-Kāmil, as we have earlier described, to distract al-Mu'azzam. But al-Mu'azzam died at this conjuncture. On the arrival of the emperor at Acre, he sent an envoy to al-Kāmil with instructions to say: "The King says to you that it was for the good and interest of the Muslims to have granted us everything (agreed upon), without my coming to them. You offered to my legate, at the time of the siege of Damietta, all

the Palestine coast [al-Ṣāḥil] and concession of the rights over Alexandria. But we did not accept this. God granted you victory, and restored Damietta to you. Who was my legate? He was nothing but the least of my servants. Therefore do not grant me less than that which you offered him." Al-Kāmil was greatly perplexed, for he could neither accede to the emperor, nor could he wage war with him, on account of the agreement they had made. He exchanged letters with him, using compliant language, and the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, moved between the two rulers. Meanwhile the Franks began to rebuild Sidon, which was possessed half by the Muslims and half by the Franks. They repaired the fortified walls, which were in ruins, and drove out the Muslims. The year went out with al-Kāmil at Tell 'Ajūl, and the Frankish ruler at Acre, their messengers passing constantly between them.

The Year 626 (A.H.)

[30th November, 1228–19th November, 1229]

This year prices became very high on the Palestine coast and in Damascus. Help from Aleppo arrived in the Jordan Valley. The Emir ('Izz-al-Dīn) Aydamur al-Mu'azzami threw himself for asylum upon al-Malik al-Kāmil, who received him well. Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd left Nablus when he heard that al-Ashraf and al-Kāmil were in league against him, and returned to Damascus. News of this reached al-Ashraf while he was at Tell al-'Ajūl; he set out to overtake al-Nāṣir and caught up with him at Quṣayr ibn-Mu'in-al-Dīn, in the Jordan Valley, below the Fīq Defile. Al-Ashraf informed him of the arrival of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, al-Malik al-Mughīth, and the Emir 'Izz-al-Dīn Aybak al-Mu'azzami, and explained that he had met with al-Kāmil for the purpose of making peace between the two, and had striven earnestly to cause al-Kāmil to turn back from his advance on al-Nāṣir. But the Sultan had refused, and rejected everything save taking Damascus. "You are aware," continued al-Ashraf, "that he is the Sultan and head of our house, that he is ruler of Egypt, and that there can be no departure from what he ordains. It was decided that you should deliver Damascus to him, and receive in compensation the following eastern terri-

tories." And he proceeded to unfold the details of the agreement.

When al-Ashraf had concluded, the Emir 'Izz-al-Dīn Aybak rose and said: "Neither deceit nor favor will move us. Not one stone of the land shall we surrender. We are able to resist all and to repel them, for our troops are numerous." Al-Nāṣir gave the command to mount, the tents were folded, and they both rode away to Damascus. Al-Nāṣir's uncle, al-Ṣāliḥ, and his nephew al-Mughīth did not follow him. When al-Nāṣir arrived at Damascus, he began to prepare to withstand a siege; and the people of the city stood to him on account of the love they bore his father. Meanwhile al-Ashraf set forward with his troops and laid siege to Damascus, cutting its canals, the Bānās, Qanawāt, (Yazid, and Thawrā).⁶² The army and the citizens of the town made sorties against al-Ashraf, and had various engagements with him.

Meanwhile the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, and the Sharīf Shams-al-Dīn al-Urmawī, Qāḍī of the army, made a number of journeys between al-Malik al-Kāmil and the Emperor Frederick, sovereign of the Franks. At last it was agreed that the Frankish sovereign should receive Jerusalem from the Muslims, the city to remain dismantled as it was, with no repairs to the walls. All its dependent villages were to remain the hands of the Muslims, the Franks having no jurisdiction over them. The sanctuary area [al-Ḥaram] and the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqṣā Mosque, which lay therein, should also remain to the Muslims, with no Franks allowed to enter save as visitors, while its custodians should be Muslims. All the practices of Islam, with the call to prayer and the prayers themselves, should continue to be observed within the sacred area. The villages that lay between Acre and Jaffa and Lydda and Jerusalem went to the Franks, saving the villages around Jerusalem.

All this sprang from al-Kāmil's involvement with the ruler of the Franks, his fear of him and inability to combat him, whereby he conciliated him in this way. Al-Kāmil explained (to the Muslims) "I conceded to the Franks only ruined churches and houses. The Mosque (in the Ḥaram) remains as it was, and the practices of Islam continue there, while the Muslims still govern the provinces and villages."

When the rulers had thus agreed, a truce was concluded between them for a period of ten years, five months, and forty days, commencing on the twenty-eighth of Rabi' al-Awwal of this year of 626 [24th February, 1229]. The sovereign of the Franks expressed his regrets to Fakhr-al-Dīn, saying that but for his fear that his prestige would be broken he would not have imposed any of this on the Sultan, and that he had no object in gaining Jerusalem or any other town save to preserve his standing among the Franks.

Al-Malik al-Kāmil and the Frankish sovereign gave their oaths to the settlement and the Sultan sent officers to Jerusalem to call upon the Muslims to leave the city and to surrender it to the Franks. Then was there much weeping, and great were the cries and lamentations. The imāms and the muezzins repaired to al-Kāmil's tent, and at its door they made the call to prayer when it was not time for such. This greatly disturbed al-Kāmil, and he ordered that their screens and silver candlesticks and other instruments be taken from them, and drove them from him saying: "Whereso'er thou wilt, begone." All this was a great misfortune for the Muslims, and much reproach was put upon al-Kāmil, and many were the revilings of him in all lands.

The emperor after this demanded Tibnīn and its dependencies, and al-Kāmil ceded them to him. He then sought leave to enter Jerusalem, and this too al-Kāmil granted. He sent the Qāḍi Shams-al-Dīn, Qāḍi of Nablus, to be at his service; and with the Qāḍi the emperor made his visit to the Mosque of Jerusalem and was conducted around the shrines. The emperor much admired the al-Aqṣà Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, and ascended the steps of the *minbar*. He then perceived a Christian cleric, Bible in hand, attempting to enter the al-Aqṣà Mosque. He drove him away, rebuking his coming, and swore that if any Frank should enter without leave his eyes would be torn out. "We are the mamelukes and servants of the Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil," he declared. "He has opened these churches to us out of his favor; let no one of you overstep the limits he has set." The priest thereupon departed, shaking with fear. The emperor then repaired to the house where he sojourned and (Shams-al-Dīn) the Qāḍi of Nablus, bade the muezzins

not to make the call to prayer that night, which they did not. When morning came, the emperor said to the Qāḍi: "Why did the muezzins not voice the call to prayer on the *minbars*?" and the Qāḍi replied: "Your slave [mameluke] prevented them, in honor and deference to the emperor." "But you erred in so doing," came the response, "for, by God, my main desire in passing the night in Jerusalem was to hear the Muslims called to prayer and to hearken to their invocations in the night."⁶³

The emperor next moved to Acre. He was a learned man, deeply versed in geometry, arithmetic, and mathematics. He sent a number of problems on geometry, law, and mathematics to al-Malik al-Kāmil, who showed them to the Shaykh 'Alam-al-Dīn, the Ḥanafite, commonly known as al-Ta'āsīf, and to other scholars before he wrote replies. The emperor sailed from Acre to his land at the end of the month of Jumādā al-Ākhirah. Al-Kāmil sent Jamāl-al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Ashrafi to the eastern territories to calm men's hearts and to free their spirits from their anxiety at the Franks' taking of Jerusalem.

On the fifth of Jumādā al-Ulā, which was a Sunday, the house of the Qāḍi al-Ashraf Aḥmad, son of the Qāḍi al-Fāḍil, was raided and its valuables confiscated (by the authorities). All his books were carried away to the Citadel of the Mount on the twenty-sixth of the month, the number of volumes being 68,000. On the third of Jumādā al-Ākhirah the boards of his bookshelves were removed on forty-nine camels. His books were carried by fifty-nine camels in three journeys. On Saturday, the twenty-second of Rajab, the books and their cases were removed from the Citadel to the house of al-Fāḍil; it was said that the number of volumes was 11,808, among them being *Kitāb al-Ayk wa'l-Ghuṣūn*, written by Abū-'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri⁶⁴ and composing sixty volumes.

This year the King of Malatyah⁶⁵ came upon the scene, and his incursions, killings, and plundering were many. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir in Damascus vigorously denounced his uncle al-Malik al-Kāmil for surrendering Jerusalem to the Franks. All his subjects deeply abhorred al-Kāmil's action. The ḥāfiẓ Shams-al-Dīn Sibṭ ibn-al-Jawzi⁶⁶ descanted in the Mosque of Damascus on the merits of Jerusalem, causing the people to be filled with grief at its possession by the Franks, and using the strongest

language in condemning the deed. His discourse was attended by an innumerable congregation, whose voices rose high in their cries and who wept copiously. The *ḥāfiẓ* recited a poem of three hundred verses, of which one was: "On the Dome of the Ascension,⁶⁷ and on the Rock which exceeds in excellence all the rocks of the earth, are schools where the verses of the Koran are not read; and in the House of Revelation the courts are deserted."

Never was greater weeping seen in Damascus than on that day.

Al-Ashraf, meanwhile, was besieging Damascus, and sent word to al-Kāmil urging him to action. Al-Kāmil set out from Tell al-ʿAjūl, after his long stay there, and was met at the village of Yubna⁶⁸ by (his brother) al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān, prince of Bānyās, with his son al-Zāhir Ghāzi. Al-Kāmil gave al-ʿAzīz fifty thousand *dīnārs*, and Ghāzi ten thousand, as well as costly cloths and splendid robes of honor. By al-Kāmil's command a vast pavillion was set up for him, surrounded by establishments for his officers and mamelukes containing all the furnitures and tents they might require. The Emir ʿIzz-al-Dīn Aydammur al-Muʿazzami then joined the Sultan, who gave him ten thousand *dīnārs*, or, as some have it, twenty thousand. The Sultan also wrote an instrument that gave him twenty thousand *irdabbs* of grain from the province of Qūṣ, and also bestowed on him the lands of the Ṣāhib Ṣafī-al-Dīn ibn-Shukr, his farms, and his choicest flocks.

Al-Kāmil then took the road to Damascus, and encamped over against it in the month of Jumādā al-Ulā [28th March–26th April]. With al-Ashraf he besieged the town with vigor. Its citizens suffered greatly from the thirst occasioned by the cutting of their canals, and withal there was daily fighting until the end of the month of Rajab. Prices rose, and al-Nāṣir's exchequer became exhausted, so that a number of his officers deserted and went over to al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf. Al-Nāṣir commenced to strike *dīnārs* and *dirhams* from his own gold and silver vessels, and distributed them until nigh all his treasure had gone. The people rallied to him strongly, and inflicted great losses upon the armies of al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf.

Meanwhile the Qāḍi Bahā'-al-Dīn ibn-Shaddād, accompanied

by the leading and distinguished men of Aleppo, arrived, sent by al-Malik al-'Azīz (Muḥammad ibn-al-Zāhir Ghāzi ibn-Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn),⁶⁹ prince of Aleppo, to seek the daughter of al-Kāmil in marriage for al-'Azīz. Al-Kāmil went out from his encampment by the Mosque of the Footprints⁷⁰ to meet him, and brought him back and lodged him beside him. He later gave him audience, and the ambassador presented the gifts he had brought from al-'Azīz. The marriage contract between al-'Azīz and the *Khātūn* [Princess] Fāṭimah, daughter of al-Kāmil, was drawn up by the Emir 'Imād-al-Dīn 'Umar, son of the Grand Shaykh, upon a dowry of fifty thousand *dīnārs*. Ibn-Shaddād (the ambassador of al-'Azīz), approved the contract on the sixth of Rajab.

Al-Nāṣir meantime had lost heart, for all his resources were consumed. One night, at the end of the month of Rajab [24th June], he went out from the citadel in Damascus with a small party, and threw himself at the door of al-Kāmil's tent. Al-Kāmil came out and received him with affection, and after reproaching him severely, took him to his arms and consoled him. He then commanded al-Nāṣir to return to the citadel, which he did, and two days later al-Kāmil sent the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, to the citadel. The day being a Friday, the emir said therein the Friday prayers, and then set out with al-Nāṣir Dāwūd for al-Kāmil's encampment. There the two princes took an oath of alliance to each other.

In exchange for Damascus, al-Kāmil gave to al-Nāṣir Karak and Shawbak and their dependent lands, together with al-Ṣalt, the Balqā', all the Jordan Valley, Nablus, the dependent lands of Jerusalem, and Bayt Jibrīl. Al-Nāṣir then renounced Shawbak to al-Kāmil, who accepted it and who, with Shawbak, became master of the city of al-Khalīl⁷¹—upon him be peace—Tiberias, Gaza, Ascalon, Ramleh, Lydda, and Muslim possessions on the coastal plain.

The gates of Damascus were opened on the first of Sha'bān [25th June], to the great dismay of its citizens. They sorrowed at the departure of al-Nāṣir, and wept exceedingly. Al-Ashraf took possession of the city, while al-Kāmil despatched representatives to take over the lands of al-Ashraf: they were the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, the Khādim

Shams-al-Dīn Ṣawāb, and others. They annexed Ḥarrān, Edessa, Sarūj, Ra's-al-ʿAyn, al-Raqqah, and other places. Al-Nāṣir withdrew with his family to Karak.

Al-Kāmil himself marched toward Ḥamāh with al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn-al-Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn-(Taqī-al-Dīn) ʿUmar ibn-Shāhanshāh ibn-Ayyūb. The Sultan sent that prince ahead with an army to invest Ḥamāh. Its ruler, al-Nāṣir Qilij Arslān, surrendered and sped to al-Kāmil, who was at Salamyah (on his way to Mesopotamia). But the Sultan scorned him, and confined his person, while al-Muẓaffar took possession of the city.⁷² Al-Nāṣir had ruled for nine years, save for two months. Al-Kāmil dismissed him [al-Nāṣir of Ḥamāh] to Egypt, where he was cast into prison.

The Sultan now advanced upon the eastern territories, crossing the Euphrates and entering the citadel of Ja'bar and moving thence to al-Raqqah. The eastern princes were filled with apprehension. He celebrated the Feast of the Breaking of the Fast [23rd August] at al-Raqqah and then moved to Ḥarrān and from there to Edessa, where he established a garrison of some two thousand horsemen. He received ambassadors from Māridīn, Āmid, Mosul, and Arbela, and several kings came to present themselves before him. He sent Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, to the court of the Caliph. He released from confinement his nephew, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Qilij Arslān, bestowed on him a robe of honor, and enfeoffed him with Bārīn.⁷³ For this he wrote a patent of rule, and he gave instructions that the contents of the citadel at Ḥamāh should be conveyed to him; they amounted to four hundred thousand *dirhams*. He wrote to al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn ordering that that sum be handed over to him. Al-Nāṣir proceeded to Bārīn, and took possession of it.

At this juncture al-Kāmil received intelligence that (Jalāl-al-Dīn) Khwārizim Shāh was besieging Khilāṭ and had leveled against it twenty mangonels. The Khwārizmian had arrived at the scene in the middle of the month of Shawwāl [7th September]. (Al-Ashraf's⁷⁴ garrison sent to al-Kāmil⁷⁵) asking for succor, but he did not send a single man. News also came that at Māridīn intercessions were being made for al-Kāmil in the *khuṭbah*, and that coins had been struck there in his name.

(Then came messages from Khilāt, all asking of al-Kāmil that he should send for al-Ashraf to the aid of the city.⁷⁶) The Sultan despatched demands for the armies of Aleppo, Ḥamāh, and Ḥimş; and the Aleppan army took the road (to Khilāt with al-Ashraf).⁷⁷ At the same time came word that the Franks had raided Bārīn, plundering and taking prisoners.

Al-Malik al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf, son of al-Malik al-Kāmil, died this year at Mecca. He was aged twenty-six, and had reigned over the Yemen for fourteen years. He left a son called Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf,⁷⁸ who was surnamed al-Malik al-Mas'ūd after his father, and Yūsuf's son, Mūsa ibn-Yūsuf ibn-Yūsuf (ibn-al-Kāmil), later ruled Egypt under the name of al-Ashraf. He shared the throne with al-Mu'izz Aybak, as we shall relate, if God wills.

Al-Malik al-Kāmil grieved sorely at the loss of his son al-Mas'ūd, and renounced his mamelukes, his treasures, and his sons, from the excess of his sorrow and put on white robes.⁷⁹ Al-Mas'ūd had left Nūr-al-Dīn 'Alī ibn-Rasūl, the Turcoman, as his regent in the Yemen, but the man gained the mastery over the land. He sent a number of gifts to al-Malik al-Kāmil and said: "I am the Sultan's Lieutenant over the land." The sovereignty of the Yemen remained to his descendants thereafter.

The Year 627 (A.H.)

[20th November, 1229–8th November, 1230]

This year came in with al-Kāmil at Ḥarrān, the Khwārizmian (Jalāl-al-Dīn) investing Khilāt, and al-Ashraf besieging Baalbek. The Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, returned from his embassy to Baghdad. An ambassador from the emperor, sovereign of the Franks, arrived at Ḥarrān with a letter for al-Malik al-Kāmil and for the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn. Al-Kāmil moved from Ḥarrān to al-Raqqah.

This year al-Ashraf, son of al-'Ādil, captured Baalbek after a siege of ten months. In compensation for Baalbek and its dependencies, he gave the village Quṣayr⁸⁰ of Damascus and al-Zabadāni⁸¹ to al-Amjad Majd-al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh ibn Farukhshāh ibn-Shāhanshāh ibn-Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb ibn-Shādi. Al-Amjad had reigned in Baalbek for forty-nine years. Al-Kāmil sent the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn 'Uthmān, his master of the house-

hold [*ustādār*], to al-Ashraf on a matter of personal concern. He appointed Kamāl-al-Dīn, a son of the Grand Shaykh, as his viceroy in the Jazīrah.

In the same year an envoy from the Sultan 'Alā'-al-Dīn Kayqubād, the Saljūq Sultan of Rūm, came to al-Malik al-Kāmil to inform the Sultan of Egypt that he had sent twenty-five thousand men to Arzinjān,⁸² and ten thousand men to Melitene, and that he himself was ready to go wheresoever the Sultan willed. Al-Kāmil was much affected by this, for he was greatly troubled by the menace of the Khwārizmians.

Al-Ashraf, prince of Damascus, set out from that city for the east and overtook al-Kāmil at al-Raqqah. Māni' ibn-Ḥadīthah, emir of the Arabs, also arrived. The Khwārizmians captured the city of Khilāt after a prolonged siege and severe fighting, on the twenty-eighth of Jumādā al-Ulā [24th April]. They put its inhabitants to the edge of the sword and slaughtered and pillaged ruthlessly. Al-Kāmil, meanwhile, had taken the road to Egypt to take care of certain matters. He had heard of the death of his son al-Mas'ūd (prince of the Yemen), and had kept the news concealed. He had also received from his wife, the mother of his son al-ʿAdil, a letter complaining of his son (by another wife) al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb. She reported that al-Ṣāliḥ designed to usurp the throne, and had bought to his side by bribery a formidable number of Turkish mamelukes. He had extorted great sums from the merchants, and squandered a portion of the Treasury capital. "Unless you return to the land," she wrote, "he will seize it and drive both myself and your son al-ʿAdil forth from it."

Al-Kāmil had been filled with disquiet at this news, and fell into a great rage. Then came word that al-Ṣāliḥ had bought a thousand mamelukes. Al-Kāmil appointed the *tawāshi* Shams-al-Dīn Ṣawāb al-ʿAdili as governor of the eastern provinces and gave him the fief of an emir of a hundred horsemen; this in addition to his possessions in Egypt, namely the province of Ikhmīn in its entirety, Qāy,⁸³ al-Qāyāt,⁸⁴ and Dijwah,⁸⁵ for the command of 250 horsemen. Thus he attained the rank of an emir of 350 horsemen.⁸⁶ Al-Kāmil appointed Kamāl-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, as vizir, and then departed for Egypt, where he arrived in the month of Rajab. His feelings

toward his son al-Ṣāliḥ had greatly changed. He arrested a number of his officers and imprisoned them and compelled them to restore the money that al-Ṣāliḥ had lavished upon them. Al-Ṣāliḥ himself he divested of his heirdom to the throne.

This year the Sultan 'Alā'-al-Dīn Kayqubād fell upon the Sultan Jalāl-al-Dīn, putting him to rout and slaying many of his soldiers. The Khwārizmian escaped with some of his officers to Tabriz. The battle took place on the twenty-seventh of Ramaḍān. As its result al-Ashraf, prince of Damascus, took possession of Khilāt.

The low level of the Nile, according to the Nilometer, reached two cubits this year and the waters attained their maximum at thirteen cubits and thirteen fingers, no more, wherefore prices rose.

The Franks marched against Hamāh in the month of Ramaḍān [24th July–22nd August], but al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn gave them battle and killed a number of them and also took prisoners.

Al-Malik al-Amjad Majd-al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh ibn-Farrukh-shāh ibn-Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, prince of Baalbek,⁸⁷ died on the night of Wednesday, the eighteenth of Shawwal [9th September], after a reign of forty-nine years. He was learned, and a poet. Al-Malik al-Zāfir Khidr, son of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf and commonly known as al-Mushammir, also died this year.

The Year 628 (A.H.)

[9th November, 1230–28th October, 1231]

Al-Ashraf returned this year to Damascus. Al-'Azīz, prince of Aleppo, took sole control of his government, having reached the age of eighteen. He took over the treasury from his atabeg Shihāb-al-Dīn Ṭughril, and governed the kingdom in a laudable manner. He sent the Qāḍi Bahā'-al-Dīn ibn-Shaddād to al-Malik al-Kāmil in order to conduct to him Ḍayfah Khatūn, daughter of al-Kāmil and affianced to al-'Azīz. Bahā'-al-Dīn stayed in Cairo (until 629).

Al-Ashraf journeyed from Damascus to the court of al-Malik al-Kāmil, accompanied by al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam, prince of the Jazīrah. They arrived on the tenth of Jumādā al-Ulā [16th March], and the Sultan rejoiced at their coming.

Al-Malik al-Kāmil went this year to Alexandria, leaving al-Ashraf in Cairo and taking with him the prince of the Jazīrah. He had lavished many favors on this prince.

The Tartars were on the move this year. In this year, too, al-Malik Mujīr-al-Dīn, son of al-'Adil, came to Cairo. He had been a prisoner of the Khwārizmians. His coming gladdened al-Kāmil, who received him and his brother Taqī-al-Dīn 'Abbās with much regard.

The Sultan Jalāl-al-Dīn, son of Khwārizm Shāh, perished this year in flight from battle with the Tartars. He was killed by some Kurds among some villages belonging to Mayyāfāriqīn. The Tartars reached Arbela, and massacred Muslims in numbers only their Creator could know.

This year al-Malik al-Kāmil began to deepen the course of the Nile between the Nilometer and the Quay at Miṣr. He labored at the work himself, and put the princes, the emirs, and the soldiers to work. When the digging was done, even in days of drought the Nile would flow from the Nilometer to the Island of al-Rawḍah and the banks of al-Jīzah; and when there was no rain whatever still the water would run uninterruptedly between Miṣr and al-Rawḍah. The Sultan apportioned the cost of the excavation among the dwellings in Cairo, Miṣr, al-Rawḍah, and beside the Nilometer. Work continued from the beginning of the month of Sha'bān [4th June] to the end of Shawwāl [30th August], and lasted three months.

An ambassador arrived this year with a robe of honor and patent of rule from the Caliph (al-Mustansir-billāh) for al-Kāmil. He was granted many marks of special distinction such as had not been shown to others, be they Saljūqs or whomsoever. A robe of honor came for al-Malik al-Ashraf as well.

'Umar ibn-'Ali ibn-Rasūl gained mastery of the Yemen this year, and proclaimed his independence.

The Year 629 (A.H.)

[29th October, 1231–17th October, 1232]

This year the Tartars completed their conquest of the territories of Armenia, Khilāt, and all that lay in the hands of the Khwārizmians. The Caliph was greatly disturbed, and despatched

a number of envoys to al-Ashraf, asking him to come from Egypt to his aid; he also sought the help of the Bedouin Arabs and others. He disbursed monies, and provided troops in all cities against the invasion of the Tartars.

In the month of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [25th March–22nd April], al-Kāmil issued forth from Cairo, leaving as his regent in Egypt his son al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū-Bakr, to whom he assigned the Citadel of the Mount as a dwelling with his mother. Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb he took with him; and al-Ashraf, together with al-Muʿazzam prince of the Jazīrah he sent ahead with the army. Al-Kāmil himself traveled with a detachment of cavalry to Shawbak and Karak, moving thence to Damascus with al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak, who brought his army. Al-Kāmil had given his daughter ʿAshūrā Khātūn to al-Nāṣir in marriage, and the contract had been drawn up at the encampment of al-Lajjūn.⁸⁸ The Sultan tarried at Damascus, and sent forward the army under the command of his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb.

When news arrived of the entry of the Tartars into the province of Khilāt, al-Kāmil made speed to move, and left Damascus and encamped at Salamyah. There his troops concentrated; but the place was too confined for them, and in the last days of Ramaḍān [ended 20th July] he moved out into the desert. Because of their great number, the soldiers were dispersed over many roads, and many of them died, with their beasts, from want of water. Ambassadors from the surrounding lands came to al-Kāmil: ʿIzz-al-Dīn Bayqarā and Fakhr-al-Dīn ibn-al-Dāmaghāni, the ambassadors from the Caliph al-Mustanṣir, who invested him with the robe of honor of a Sultan; and, summoned by al-ʿĀdil, the ambassadors of the Khwārizmians, the ambassador of the Georgians, the ambassadors of Ḥamāh and Ḥimṣ, the ambassador of Hindustān,⁸⁹ the ambassadors of the Franks, the ambassadors of the atabeg Saʿd, ruler of Shīrāz, and the ambassadors of the ruler of Spain. Never before had all these ambassadors assembled before a king on one single day. Bahāʾ-al-Dīn al-Yazdi, superior of the Khilātīyah Monastery, came to al-Kāmil from Baghdad with a party of slave-traders to urge him to war against the invaders.

The Tartars withdrew from Khilāt after a siege of several days. Al-Kāmil learned of their move while he was at Ḥarrān.

He despatched ʿImād-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, on an embassy to the Caliph, and removed to Edessa. He directed the army against Amid, whither he followed it and invested the city, setting up against it a number of mangonels. Its ruler sent to him to implore his clemency, offering him a hundred thousand *dīnārs* and al-Ashraf twenty thousand; but he refused. He pressed the siege until he took the city on the twenty-sixth of Dhū-l-Ḥijjah [13th October]. Its ruler presented himself, under the protection of a safe conduct, before the Sultan who held him until he delivered up all the fortified strongholds of the city. The Sultan handed over Ḥiṣn Kayfā to his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb.

A gift arrived this year from Māridīn. And Ibn-Shaddād set out from Cairo with Her Highness the Princess Ghāziyah Khātūn, daughter of al-Kāmil and wife of al-Muẓaffar, prince of Ḥamāh, and with Her Highness the Princess Fāṭimah, daughter of al-Kāmil and wife of al-ʿAzīz, prince of Aleppo. They were accompanied as well by the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Bāniyāsī and the Sharīf Shams-al-Dīn, Qāḍi of the army.

The Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn ʿUthmān ibn-Qizil, master of the household to al-Kāmil, and head of the Fakhrīyah School in Cairo, died on the eighteenth of Dhū-l-Ḥijjah in Ḥarrān.

Al-Malik al-Manṣūr ʿUmar ibn-ʿAlī ibn-Rasūl, prince of the Yemen, sent an army against Mecca commanded by the Sharīf Rājiḥ ibn-Qatādah. He captured it from the Emir Shujāʿ-al-Dīn Ṭughtikīn, lieutenant of al-Malik al-Kāmil, in the month of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir. Shujāʿ-al-Dīn fled to Nakhlah, thence to Yanbuʿ, where he wrote to al-Kāmil to inform him of the event. The Sultan sent him an army with which he marched on Mecca. They arrived before the city in the month of Ramaḍān [21st June–20th July] and took possession of it after killing a number of the garrison. The commander of this army was the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Yūsuf, son of the Grand Shaykh.

The Year 630 (A.H.)

[18th October, 1232–6th October, 1233]

This year al-Kāmil bestowed on his son al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb Ḥiṣn Kayfa, and despatched him thither. The Sultan

himself returned to Egypt with al-Malik al-Mas'ūd,⁹⁰ prince of Āmid. When he arrived at the Citadel of the Mount he gave this prince his freedom and showed him consideration as well as granting him office in Egypt. Al-Kāmil imprisoned a number of Egyptian emirs this year.

Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, prince of Ḥamāh, took possession of the fortress of Bārīn this year, having seized it from his brother al-Nāṣir Qilij Arslān.⁹¹ Arslān repaired to his uncle al-Kāmil, who arrested him and confined him in the Citadel of the Mount until he died. Al-Malik al-Kāmil sent an army of Ghuzz⁹² and Bedouin Arabs to Yanbu' in the Hejaz. Their commander was 'Alā' -al-Dīn Āq Sunqur al-Zāhidi in the month of Shawwāl, and their number was seven hundred. The reason for this expedition was that news had been received that the Sharif Rājih had marched with an army on Mecca from the Yemen. He had arrived in the month of Ṣafar [17th November–15th December] and had driven out the Egyptian garrison without resistance. Al-Zāhidi reached Mecca at the time of the pilgrimage, and after taking possession of the city himself performed the pilgrimage. He left Ibn Maḥalli, with fifty horsemen, in Mecca, and returned to Egypt.

Al-Fakhr Sulaymān ibn-Maḥmūd ibn-Abī-Ghālib the Damascene, secretary of the Chancellery of Diplomatic Correspondence,⁹³ died this year. Al-Malik al-Kāmil sent for a scribe called al-Amīn al-Ḥalabi, who was in the service of the Emir 'Izz-al-Dīn Aybak, the *Ustādār* of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam. But when al-Amīn came before al-Kāmil, the Sultan gave him a robe of honor and returned him to his master. Feeling ashamed before men, al-Amīn became a recluse. Al-Kāmil then sent to Mayyāfāriqīn a functionary who brought to him al-Jalāl ibn-Nubātah to be his secretary; but when this person presented himself before al-Kāmil, the Sultan gave him, too, a robe of honor and sent him back without employing him as his secretary.

On Tuesday the eighteenth of Ramaḍān [28th June] al-Malik al-Kāmil invested his son al-Malik al-'Ādil Sayf-al-Dīn Abū-Bakr with the style and title of Sultan and, arraying him in the insignia of royalty, paraded with him through the streets of Cairo. The boy was then eleven years of age; al-Kāmil loved him and his mother exceedingly.

In the month of Dhū-l-Qa'dah, Muḥyi-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-al-Jawzi arrived from Baghdad with a patent of rule from the Caliph al-Mustanṣir-billāh for al-Kāmil.⁹⁴ The Sultan abolished the use of copper coinage this year, thus destroying much of people's wealth. The Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn Māni' ibn-Ḥadīthah, emir of the tribe of Faḍl Arabs, died this year, and al-Ashraf appointed his son Muhanna as emir in succession to him. Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak, arrived in Egypt this year and took up residence in the Vizirial Lodge in Cairo. He rode in the retinue of his uncle al-Kāmil.

On Monday the tenth of Ramaḍān [20th June], al-ʿAzīz Fakhr-al-Dīn 'Uthmān, son of al-ʿAdil, died in Damascus. Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Muzaḥfar-al-Dīn Kawkabri, son of Zayn-al-Dīn 'Alī Kūjik, prince of Arbela, died on the twenty-ninth of Sha'bān [10th June], at the age of eighty-four. He was accustomed to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet every year with great ceremony. After his death, the officers of the Caliph took possession of Arbela, which was annexed to the state of Baghdad.

The Year 631 (A.H.)

[7th October, 1233–25th September, 1234]

This year the Sultan 'Alā'-al-Dīn Kayqubād ibn-Kaykhusraw, Saljūq ruler of Rūm, led an army against the city of Khilāt. Al-Kāmil marched from Cairo with his army on the night of Saturday the fifth of Sha'bān [6th May], leaving his son al-ʿAdil as his lieutenant in Egypt. Arriving at Damascus, he wrote to the Ayyūbid kings, commanding them to prepare to march with their troops into the land of Rūm.

The Sultan then left Damascus, and encamped at Salamyah in the month of Ramaḍān [31st May–29th June]. There he organized his army, and removed to Manbij. Being joined by the army of Aleppo and other troops, he commenced his advance. With him went sixteen war-tents for sixteen sovereigns, although some say that there were eighteen. He reviewed his army at al-Bīrah regiment by regiment,⁹⁵ under arms, and was so moved to admiration that he exclaimed: "Such soldiers have never before been assembled for any Muslim ruler." He

gave the order to march, and, column after column, the army took the road to al-Darband.⁹⁶ The Sultan 'Alā'-al-Dīn had hastened to hold with soldiers the roads leading to the pass. Al-Kāmil encamped on the River Azraq, on the confines of the land of Rūm. Saljūq troops lay between him and al-Darband. They seized the entrance to this pass, and built a wall there to prevent al-Kāmil's troops from ascending, fighting from the top of the wall. At the same time provisions became scarce in al-Kāmil's army.

In addition to this shortness of provisions and the Saljūq resistance at al-Darband, it also befell that the Ayyūbid princes fell out with al-Kāmil, and for this reason. It had been reported that, when admiring the great number of troops at al-Bīrah, he had said to his intimates: "If the empire of Rūm becomes ours, we shall divide it between the princes of Syria and the Eastern Territories instead of what they now possess, and Syria and the Eastern Territories we shall add to the kingdom of Egypt." Al-Mujāhid, prince of Ḥimṣ, received warning of this, and informed al-Ashraf Mūsa, prince of Damascus. Mūsa listened with apprehension but concealed it and called to him his cousins and the princes his kinsmen, and revealed the matter to them. They thereupon combined against al-Kāmil and wrote to the Sultan 'Alā'-al-Dīn, apprising him that they would join with him and abandon al-Kāmil. The letter was despatched, but it happened to fall into the hands of al-Kāmil. The Sultan preserved silence regarding it, but withdrew with his forces.

The sovereign of Rūm ('Alā'-al-Dīn) captured the fortress of Khartabirt,⁹⁷ and six other castles belonging to the Urtuqid princes, all in the month of Dhū-l-Qa'dah [29th July-27th August]. Al-Kāmil was greatly incensed at the fate of his officers and soldiers at the hands of the Sultan of Rūm in the fortress of Khartabirt. For this he blamed the princes of his family, and repudiated the agreement between him and them.

Al-Malik al-Mufaḍḍal Quṭb-al-Dīn Mūsa, son of the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-Ayyūb, died in the month of Dhū-l-Ḥijjah [28th August-26th September] of this year. Al-Manṣūr ('Umar ibn-'Ali ibn-Rasūl), sovereign of the Yemen, sent troops and a treasure chest to the Sharīf Rājīḥ ibn-Qatādah, who drove the Egyptians out of Mecca.

On the first day of Rajab [2nd April], the Shaykh Abū-‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn-‘Umar al-Qurṭubi attended a seance⁹⁸ in the Lane of the Cook⁹⁹ in the city of Miṣr. The Shaykh Abū-‘Abdullāh al-Qurashi and Abū-‘Abbās al-Qaṣṭallāni and others were present. When the chanter had finished his verses, Abū-Yūsuf al-Dahmāni clapped his hands and, cross-legged, rose from the ground till he reached the ceiling [*anbidārīyah*] of the room, turned three times, and descended to his place. The Shaykh al-Qurṭubi rose and measured the height of the ceiling; it was higher than himself with his arm raised.

The Year 632 (A.H.)

[26th September, 1234–15th September, 1235]

In the month of Jumādā al-Ulā [22nd January–20th February] al-Malik al-Kāmil returned to the Citadel of the Mount from the eastern territories, having quarreled with his brother al-Ashraf, prince of Damascus, and other princes. He arrested al-Mas‘ūd, sovereign of Āmid, and confined him on Monday the sixteenth of Jumādā al-Ulā in a tower with his family for having conspired with the princes.

The Sultan of Rūm captured Edessa and Ḥarrān by assault, and then returned to his land, after seizing all the money that was in the two cities. When al-Kāmil heard of this, he ordered the army to prepare to march eastward. He enfeoffed the son of the Emir Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn al-Irbili with Ṣanāfayr in the district of Qalyūbiyah (in the Delta), and installed there with him his father’s kinsmen and his mamelukes, all in all numbering seventeen persons.

Ibn-Rasūl (sovereign of the Yemen) sent a treasure chest to the Sharīf Rājih (ibn-Qatādah) in order to raise an army. But this the Sharīf was unable to do, for he received intelligence that the Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil had sent the Emir Asad-al-Dīn Jughrīl, one of the Kāmilite mamelukes, with seven hundred horsemen to Mecca. Rājih fled before him to the Yemen, and Jughrīl took possession of Mecca in the month of Ramaḍān [20th May–18th June] and established a garrison therein.

Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Abū-Sulaymān Mujīr-al-Dīn Dāwūd, son of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-Ayyūb, prince of al-Bīrah, died on the seventh of Ṣafar [1st November], and al-‘Azīz, prince of Aleppo,

took possession of the city. The Emir Shams-al-Dīn Ṣawāb, a *ṭawāshi* in the service of al-Kāmil, died at Ḥarrān in the last days of Ramaḍān.

The Year 633 (A.H.)

[16th September, 1235–3rd September, 1236]

The plague raged violently in Egypt this year for a period of three months. Many people died in Cairo and Miṣr, their number exceeding twelve thousand not counting those who died in the countryside. In this year, too, the Tartars irrupted into the district of Mosul, slaughtering, pillaging, and capturing prisoners.

Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak, betook himself to the Caliph (al-Mustanṣir-billāh), being in fear of his uncle al-Kāmil. The Sultan had compelled him to grant freedom to his wife, al-Kāmil's daughter, and the prince feared that al-Kāmil would even take Karak from him. On his arrival in Baghdad, the Caliph caused him to be received with regard, but abstained from granting him audience, out of respect for al-Kāmil. But he received him in private, and gave him a robe of honor. He then sent with him to al-Kāmil an envoy from among his retinue, one of the long-capped order,¹⁰⁰ in order to intercede for the prince. When the envoy arrived, al-Kāmil went out to receive him, and accepted his intercessions.

This year al-Kāmil set out from Cairo with his troops for the eastern territories. He laid siege to Edessa,¹⁰¹ and recaptured it on Wednesday, the thirteenth of Jumādā al-Ulā [24th January]. He took more than eight hundred emirs (and soldiers) prisoner, and razed the citadel. He then invested Ḥarrān, and after a strenuous siege and struggle gained possession of the city on the fourteenth of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [24th February]. He took the soldiers of the Sultan 'Alā'-al-Dīn captive within the place, as well as his emirs, leading men, and land-agents [Persian, *subāshīyah*], all to the number of 725. Many of them died on the road.¹⁰² The Sultan then laid siege to Dunaysir¹⁰³ and destroyed it. Word then came to him that the Tartars had reached Sinjār to the number of one hundred regiments,¹⁰⁴ each regiment comprising five hundred horsemen. He took the fortress

of al-Suwaydā'¹⁰⁵ by storm on the seventeenth of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [27th February], taking prisoner all within it and demolishing it. He took Qaṭīna¹⁰⁶ and captured its garrison in Rajab; and on the nineteenth [29th March] of that month he sent away all his prisoners into captivity in Egypt, their number exceeding three thousand. He then returned to Damascus, having placed the eastern territories under the government of his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. Dunaysir and many cities belonging to the prince of Māridīn were destroyed.

On the return of al-Kāmil to Damascus, the army of the Sultan of Rūm took the field. It besieged Āmid, and destroyed Dārā¹⁰⁷ on the fifth of Dhū-l-Qa'dah [11th July]. In Spain the Franks captured the city of Cordova.

Anbā Kīrilus Dāwūd, son of Laqlaq, succeeded to the Jacobite Patriarchate on Sunday the twenty-third of Ba'ūnah in the year 951 of the Martyrs which fell on the twenty-ninth of Ramaḍān [6th June]. He had been patriarch for seven years and nine months and ten days. He was a man of learning, fond of power and the amassing of wealth, and was given to simony, exacting ordination fees [*shartūniyah*] from those whom he ordained. Egypt had been wanting in bishops for some time, and he ordained a number on payment of considerable sums. He experienced many crises. The monk 'Imād-al-Marshār had been active in bringing Dāwūd to the patriarchate, and had exacted the condition that no bishop should be appointed without his advice. But the Patriarch was not faithful to this bargain, and did not consult him. 'Imād therefore turned against the Patriarch and petitioned against him and engaged legal counsel against him and a number of his kinsmen and dependents. The Shaykh al-Sani, son of al-Ta'bān the Monk, also set himself against the Patriarch and rejected his authority; he denounced his calumnies and accused him of bribery and of taking ordination fees, and alleged that his divine office was not valid according to the (canon) law.

Certain persons inclined to al-Sani and convened an enquiry for him before the Ṣāḥib Mu'in-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, during the reign of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb. They proved infamous things against the Patriarch, and determined to dethrone him. But the finance officials¹⁰⁸ of

Egypt took his side and talked with the Ṣāhib Mu'in-al-Dīn, who decided that the Patriarch should convey a sum of money to the Sultan. By this means he remained Patriarch until he died on Tuesday the fourteenth of the month of Barmahāt in the year 959 of the Martyrs, corresponding with the seventh of Ramaḍān in the year 640 [28th February, 1243]. The Patriarchal throne remained vacant after him for seven years, six months, and twenty-six days.

Al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Umar ibn-'Ali ibn-Rasūl, ruler of the Yemen, sent an army against Mecca under al-Shibāb ibn-'Abdullāh, with a treasure chest. But the Egyptians gave him battle and captured him and sent him in chains to Cairo.

The Year 634 (A.H.)

[4th September, 1236–23rd August, 1237]

This year al-Malik al-Kāmil departed from Damascus for Cairo. On arrival there he went up to the Citadel of the Mount, on the . . . [lacuna]. He then removed to Damietta, where Muḥyi-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-al-Jawzi came to him in his character of ambassador of the caliph. Muḥyi-al-Dīn then went on to the Sultan of Rūm, and with him went al-Ḥāfiẓ Zaki-al-Dīn 'Abd-al-'Azīm al-Mundhiri, as ambassador of al-Malik al-Kāmil.

Al-Malik al-'Azīz Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of al-Zāhir Ghāzi, son of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-Ayyūb, prince of Aleppo, died on Wednesday, the twenty-fourth of Rabī' al-Awwal [25th November], at the age of twenty-three years and some months. He was succeeded by his son al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Abū'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, who was then about seven years of age, and whose government was managed by the Emir Lu'lu' al-Amīnī and 'Izz-al-Dīn 'Umar ibn-Maḥalli. The vizir of the state, Jamāl-al-Dīn al-Akram, served as a liaison between them and Her Highness¹⁰⁹ the Khātūn Ḍayfah, daughter of al-Malik al-'Ādil, through Jamāl-al-Dawlah Iqbāl.

The Emir Badr-al-Dīn Badr ibn-Abī'l-Hayja' and Zayn-al-Dīn, the Qādi of Aleppo, brought to al-Kāmil the mail-coat, jupon, helmet, and caparisons of al-'Azīz.¹¹⁰ Al-Kāmil displayed grief at the death of al-'Azīz, but did not show great regard in his reception of the envoys. He took an oath of allegiance given

on behalf of al-Nāṣir, laid down certain conditions, and gave the envoys leave to depart. He then sent a robe of honor to al-Nāṣir, but no caparisons, and with it sent several robes of honor for the emirs of Aleppo, and a robe of honor for al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn-al-Zāhir Ghāzi, prince of ʿAyntāb. The mother of al-Zāhir was mistrustful of her brother al-Kāmil, and did not permit any of the emirs to don the robes of honor. Al-Nāṣir, however, put one on, and the envoy went on with the robe of honor for al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn.

This year al-Ashraf, prince of Damascus, disavowed al-Malik al-Kāmil. He corresponded with the citizens of Aleppo, and agreed with them to exclude al-Kāmil from Syria, and to write to ʿAlāʾ-al-Dīn, Sultan of Rūm, inviting him to join them. The Syrian kings were also unanimous in opposing al-Kāmil, who was greatly perturbed and troubled. He was in Alexandria when he received the news, and he departed from it by night and went to the Citadel of the Mount, where he began to arrange affairs.

It so happened, however, that the Sultan ʿAlāʾ-al-Dīn Kayqubād ibn-Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Kaykhusraw ibn-Qilij Arslān, sovereign of Rūm, died, and was succeeded by his son Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Kaykhusraw ibn-(ʿAlāʾ-al-Dīn) Kayqubād. The Sultan died on the seventh of Shawwāl [4th June], before he could give audience to al-Hāfiẓ Zaki-al-Dīn ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīm al-Mundhiri, ambassador of the Sultan al-Kāmil. The Syrian kings sent their ambassadors to the Sultan Ghiyāth-al-Dīn to condole with him on the death of his father, and to swear him to what they had agreed upon against al-Kāmil. At the same time, al-Kāmil sent Afḍal-al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khūnaji with his condolences for Ghiyāth-al-Dīn, and gold to be scattered as alms, as well as a cloth of satin to cover the tomb.

The plague was more severe this year than the one before. Al-Kāmil struck some copper coinage.

Al-Kāmil sent the Qāḍi al-Ashraf ibn-(al-Qāḍi) al-Fāḍil to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak, to urge him to take his side. Al-Nāṣir at once repaired to Cairo with the Qāḍi al-Ashraf. Al-Kāmil rejoiced at his coming, and rode out to meet him. He gave him residence in the Vizirial Lodge, bestowed on him many gifts, and gave him a robe of honor. He

also granted him a 'patent of rule over Damascus. He commanded the emirs and the Ayyūbid princes who were at his court to carry in turn the royal insignia¹¹¹ before al-Nāṣir. The first to bear it was al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū-Bakr ibn-al-Kāmil, and then the others, one after the other, until al-Nāṣir had ascended to the Citadel of the Mount. Al-Nāṣir renewed his contract of marriage, notwithstanding his divorce from her, with 'Āshūrā' Khātūn, daughter of al-Kāmil, on the nineteenth of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah. When intelligence of this reached al-Ashraf, he laid siege to Nablus and took everything within it that belonged to al-Nāṣir Dāwūd.

The same year al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, prince of Ḥiṣn Kayfa, son of al-Kāmil, sent to ask leave of his father to take into his service the Khwārizmians who had rebelled against the sultan of Rūm. Al-Kāmil consented, and al-Ṣāliḥ employed them in the Jazīrah, being much strengthened thereby.

The Tartars conquered Arbela this year, killing and taking prisoner those within the city, and ravaging it, until it stank from the number of corpses; they then departed.

An envoy from the Syrian princes came to al-Kāmil and informed him of their resolve: "We are all agreed against you. Do not quit Egypt for Syria, and give us your oath to that purpose." It so happened that at this time al-Ashraf fell ill with dysentery, no food whatever resting in his stomach. He remained ill from the month of Rajab until the year ended.

An army advanced on Mecca from the Yemen; the Emir Asad-al-Dīn Jughrīl gave it battle, and put it to rout. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Umar ibn-Rasūl then took possession of Mecca without a struggle; he distributed alms and left a garrison in the city. But the Sharīf Shayḥah ibn-Qāsim, Emir of Medina, dispossessed them of Mecca and pillaged them, without anyone being killed.

The Year 635 (A.H.)

[24th August, 1237–13th August, 1238]

Al-Ashraf Mūsa, son of al-'Ādil Abū-Bakr ibn-Ayyūb and prince of Damascus, died there on Thursday the fourth of Muḥarram [27th August, 1237]. He was about sixty years of age, and his

reign over Damascus endured for eight years and some months. He left only a daughter¹¹² and was succeeded by his brother al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād-al-Dīn Ismāʿīl, prince of Buṣra, whom he had named as his heir. Al-Ṣāliḥ assumed the government of Damascus and Baalbek, and sent his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr Maḥmūd to the east in order to take over Sinjār, Nisibis, and al-Khābūr¹¹³ from the officers of al-Ashraf. He sent ambassadors to al-Mujāhid, prince of Ḥimṣ, and to al-Muẓaffar, prince of Ḥamāh, as well as to the people of Aleppo, asking them to give him their oath and make alliance with him, on the basis decided between them and al-Ashraf against al-Kāmil. They all replied in agreement, save the prince of Ḥamāh, who inclined to al-Kāmil. He sent an envoy to al-Kāmil to inform him of his leaning to him, and al-Kāmil was much pleased at this. Al-Ṣāliḥ arrested a number of Damascenes who were said to be favorable to al-Kāmil, among them ʿAlam-(al-Dīn) Taʿāsīf¹¹⁴ and the sons of Muzhir, and imprisoned them at Buṣra.

Al-Kāmil made his preparations, and set out with his army from the Citadel of the Mount early on the morning of Thursday the twenty-third of Ṣafar [15th October], leaving his son al-ʿĀdil as his regent in Egypt. He took with him al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, who had no doubt that al-Kāmil would grant him Damascus in accordance with the agreement between them. The Sultan wrote to the governor of the fortress of ʿAjlūn, who delivered it up to him. He encamped before Damascus, at the Maṣjid al-Qadam, on the twenty-third of Rabīʿ al-Awwal [13th November]. The fortifications of the city had been strengthened, and it had received reinforcements.

The Sultan laid siege to Damascus. He cut off the supply of water, and put it to so stringent a blockade that prices rose. He put al-ʿUqaybah¹¹⁵ to the flames, as also Ṭawāḥīn, massacring their inhabitants. It was wintertime. Al-Ṣāliḥ acknowledged defeat, and surrendered Damascus to his brother, al-Kāmil, who gave him Baalbek, the Biqāʿ, Buṣra, and the Sawād¹¹⁶ in compensation. The mediator between them was the Ṣāḥib Muḥyi-al-Dīn Abū-l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, son of the Shaykh Abū-l-Faraj ibn-al-Jawzi, the ambassador of the Caliph, who had come to make peace between the Ayyūbid princes.

Al-Kāmil took possession of Damascus on the tenth of Jumādā al-Ulā [29th December], and al-Šāliḥ departed to Baalbek eleven days before the end of that month. Al-Kāmil took up his residence in the Citadel, and gave instructions that his great tent be erected outside the city. He removed al-Muẓaffar, prince of Ḥamāh, to Ḥimṣ, and released al-Falak al-Misyari from imprisonment in the citadel of Damascus, where he had been confined by al-Ashraf. He had the body of al-Ashraf conveyed to his tomb. On Monday the sixth of Jumādā al-Ākhirah the Sultan ordained that none of the imāms of the Mosque should conduct the evening prayers save the Grand Imām; for when they prayed, great disorder occurred among the worshippers.

Report arrived (in Cairo) that al-Šāliḥ (Najm-al-Dīn), son of al-Kāmil, had taken possession of Sinjār, Nisibis, and al-Khābūr. An ambassador also arrived from the Caliph with a sum of money for al-Kāmil with which to raise an army for the Caliph, who heard that the Tartars were moving toward Baghdad. When the Caliph's letter was delivered to al-Kāmil, he rose and placed it on his head (in token of obedience). The amount that had been brought was one hundred thousand Egyptian *dīnārs*. The Sultan commanded that two hundred thousand *dīnārs* should be drawn from the public treasury for the recruitment of an army. He also commanded that ten thousand men of the Egyptian and Syrian armies should be detached for the support of the Caliph, their commander being al-Nāṣir Dāwūd. He further enjoined that nothing of the sum sent by the Caliph should be expended, and that it should be returned in its entirety to the Caliph's treasury. He entrusted the raising of the army to the Emirs Rukn-al-Dīn al-Hayjāwī and 'Imad-al-Dīn ibn-Mūsik, and instructed them to place themselves, with al-Nāṣir, at the service of the Caliph. The army was raised and marched to Baghdad. It numbered three thousand horsemen.

Al-Kāmil then commenced preparations to take Aleppo. Al-Mujāhid, prince of Ḥimṣ, took fright and sent his son (al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm) to al-Kāmil. It was agreed that al-Mujāhid should yearly pay al-Kāmil two million *dirhams* and be left alone.

From the time that al-Kāmil entered the citadel of Damascus

he had been affected with cold. At its onset he had visited the baths and hot water had been poured on his head. The distemper had been driven down to his belly which swelled out and he became feverish. The physicians forbade him emetics, and warned him against their use; but toward the end of Wednesday, the twenty-first of Rajab [9th March, 1238], in the Silver Chamber at the Citadel of Damascus, he made himself vomit and died. He was interred early the next morning.

Al-Kāmil was about sixty years of age at the time of his death, which occurred some six months after the death of his brother al-Ashraf. The length of his reign over Damascus this time had been seventy-one days. The duration of his rule over Egypt, following the death of his father, had been twenty years and forty-three days, or, as some said, forty-five. His rule there during the lifetime of his father had been for a similar period; he had thus ruled over Egypt some forty years. He had been born on the twenty-fifth of Rabī' al-Awwal, in the year 576 [19th August, 1180].

Al-Kāmil much loved men of learning, preferring their society. He was passionately addicted to listening to the traditions of the Prophet, and himself related traditions under license from Abū-Muḥammad ibn-Barri and Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Būṣīri and from certain Egyptians and others. He particularly favored Abū-'l-Khaṭṭāb ibn-Diḥyah, and built for him the Kāmiliyah College of Traditions in Cairo, to which he assigned pious endowments. He loved discussions with Muslim divines, and had a number of curious problems on jurisprudence and grammar with which he would examine scholars, and those who answered rightly he advanced and gave them his favor. He gave lodging with him in the Citadel to several men of learning, such as grammarian al-Jamāl al-Yamani, the jurist 'Abd-al-Zāhir, Ibn-Diḥyah, and the Emir Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn al-Irbili, a man of superior excellence. Beds were set up for them beside his so that they might lie on them and converse through the night. Learning and literature flourished under him, and men of distinction resorted to his court. To those who came to him he provided a full and generous living. Among them were al-Tāj ibn-al-Urmawī, Afdal-al-Dīn al-Khūnajī and the Qāḍi and Sharīf Shams-al-Dīn al-Urmawī, Qāḍi of the army, these being the

leading men of their day both in the traditional sciences [*manqūl*] and in the rational [*ma'qūl*].

Al-Kāmil was dignified of bearing, resolute, and deliberate in reflection. He treated his subjects well, and was continent in the shedding of blood. It was said that through the awe he inspired, a man could traverse alone the desert between al-'Arīsh and Cairo with much gold and with loads of clothings, and have no fear in doing so. A carpet was once stolen in this desert. Al-Kāmil sent for the Bedouins who (living in that area) had been charged with the protection of the road, and instructed that the carpet and the thief be brought before him. In place of the thief, the Bedouins offered a considerable sum, but the Sultan refused everything but the production of the thief, on pain of their destruction and that of their property. Thus they could do no other than deliver up both the robber and the carpet.

Al-Kāmil dealt himself with affairs of state, depending not on a vizir or anyone else. He at first appointed as vizir the Ṣāhib Ṣafī-al-Dīn ibn-Shukr, who held office for six years and, although losing his sight, continued in it until he died. The Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn 'Uthmān, master of the household, was accustomed to visit the vizir (to assist him) in his work. When the Ṣāhib died, he appointed no vizir to succeed him, but employed someone of his choice to manage affairs. For a time, he charged Mu'īn-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, with this function and styled him Deputy Vizir [*Nā'ib al-Wazārah*]. At one time he appointed Tāj-al-Dīn Yūsuf, son of the Ṣāhib Ṣafī-al-Dīn, and at another Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-al-Būri. Then he commenced to direct the affairs of the state himself, causing the ministries to bring business to him, and supervising them and examining their finances. When the Nile began to rise, he would go out himself to inspect the dykes, and assign to each dyke an officer who would be responsible for it and collect laborers to attend to it. After that he would continue to examine the dykes, and if one fell out of order he would punish the officer responsible with great severity. In his day the soil of Egypt was highly cultivated.

From the public alms [*zakāh*] that were levied on possession of gold and silver the Sultan set apart two portions for the

poor and the needy. He appointed controllers over their expenditure, and assigned allowances from them for jurists, the destitute, and the devout. Every Friday night he would hold a gathering of learned men and sit in debate with them. He was deeply politic. He appointed on every road persons who should watch over the security of travelers. But he was avid in the amassing of money, and sedulous in its collection. He instituted in the land new taxes which he called "The Rights" [*al-Huqūq*], such as had never been before. He composed some poems, among them being:

If you are sure of what your friend has
Of love, then that is measure enough.
You dwelt in my heart, which is your abode;
The master of the house knows who is within.

Al-Bahā' Zuhayr ibn-Muḥammad in his poem on the conquest of Damietta says:

He is al-Kāmil (lit. The Perfect) the Lord to mention whom
Is to delight the world and gladden the age.
By him was Damietta restored, seized from the foe.
He cleansed it with the sword and the pure people.
God help you with a king, be he generous and bountiful,
Who denies you your customs and skills.
Praise for him must be cut short
Though he come with the shining sun and the full moon.

The sons of the Shaykh Ṣadr-al-Dīn ibn-Ḥammūyah were the great and principal men of his empire: they were the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Yūsuf, 'Imād-al-Dīn 'Umar, Kamāl-al-Dīn Aḥmad, and Mu'īn-al-Dīn Ḥasan. Fakhr-al-Dīn abandoned the turban [*amamah*] and donned the *sharbūsh*¹¹⁷ and the full-sleeved gown [*qabā'*] and became the boon companion of the Sultan. He was a man of attainment and learning who bore his share in scientific labors. His brothers too were men of achievement. These embraced the headship of the Ṣalāḥi convent of Sa'id al-Su'adā', a professorship at the Nāṣrīyah College in the neighborhood of the tomb of al-Shāfi'i in al-Qarāfah, and a professorship at the Ḥusayni Shrine in Cairo, while there was not one of them who did not command armies and undertake campaigns.

Their mother, who was the daughter of al-Qāḍi Shihāb-al-Dīn ibn-ʿAsrūn, suckled al-Malik al-Kāmil, so that they were foster brothers of the Sultan.

When the Sultan al-Kāmil died, the sons of the Grand Shaykh, the Emir Sayf-al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn-Qiliġ and his brother the Emir ʿImād-al-Dīn, with al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, and the principal men of the empire agreed to swear the troops by oath to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū-Bakr, son of al-Malik al-Kāmil—and who was then his father's lieutenant in the Citadel of the Mount—as ruler of Egypt. Al-Malik al-Jawād Muẓaffar-al-Dīn Yūnus ibn-Mawdūd, son of al-ʿĀdil Abū-Bakr ibn-Ayyūb, was named viceroy of Damascus, although this latter was concealed from al-Nāṣir Dāwūd (by the others). They swore to this on Thursday, the twenty-second of Rajab [10th March], and sent the Emir Nūr-al-Dīn ʿAlī, son of the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn ʿUthmān, the master of the household, to al-Nāṣir Dāwūd at Damascus, whence Nūr-al-Dīn removed him to Karak. Al-Jawād thus settled in Damascus as viceroy of his cousin, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, and the army returned from Damascus to Egypt. Certain emirs were left in Damascus with a body of Egyptian troops and the mamelukes of al-Ashraf for its protection. Their commander was ʿImād-al-Dīn ʿUmar, son of the Grand Shaykh.

Al-Jawād distributed money with a lavish hand, coveting independent sovereignty in Damascus, and compelled the preacher of the *khutbah* to include blessings for him in it after al-ʿĀdil.

CHAPTER 6

The Reign of al-‘Ādil Sayf al-Dīn, Son of al-Kāmil

*The Sultan al-Malik al-‘Ādil Sayf-al-Dīn Abū-Bakr,
Son of al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad,
Son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū-Bakr
ibn-Ayyub.*

The mother of al-‘Ādil, al-Sitt al-Sawdā’, was known as “the daughter of the faqīh Naṣr.” Al-‘Ādil was born in the year 617 [A.D. 1220], and he assumed the sovereignty of Egypt and Damascus on Thursday, the twenty-second of Rajab in the year 635, which fell on the sixteenth day of the month of Barmahāt¹ [10th March, 1238]. Blessings were invoked on his name in the *khutbah* at Cairo and Miṣr on the fourth of Sha‘bān [22nd March]. He was the seventh sultan of the Ayyūbid dynasty to reign over Egypt.

On the arrival of couriers from Damascus to inform al-‘Ādil of the death of his father and his succession to the throne, the Emir Sayf-al-Dīn Qilij bestirred himself to bring the emirs to the palace to give the oath of allegiance to al-‘Ādil. The new Sultan reduced the *mukūs* [taxes]² and was prodigal in distributing gifts and foods to all.

On the fourth of Sha‘bān [22nd March] intercessions were made in the *khutbah* throughout Egypt for al-‘Ādil, and the death of al-Kāmil was announced to the people. On the fourteenth of the month [1st April], coinage was struck in the name of al-‘Ādil; on the eighteenth of Ramaḍān [4th May] *dīnārs* and *dirhams* were struck in his name; and on the twentieth his edict for the abolition of all the *mukūs* was read from the pulpit.

On the twenty-seventh of Shawwāl [13th June], Muḥyi-al-Dīn (Abū-Muḥammad) Yūsuf ibn-al-Jawzi arrived as ambassador of

the Caliph from Baghdad to condole with al-ʿĀdil over the death of al-Malik al-Kāmil and to felicitate him upon his succession. Al-ʿĀdil sent a robe of honor and a *sanjaq* to Damascus for al-Jawād, who rode forth in the robe of honor on the nineteenth of Ramaḍan. Al-ʿĀdil also made donations to the soldiers. On the second of the month of Dhū-l-Qa'dah [16th June], Ibn-al-Jawzi bound al-Malik al-ʿĀdil by oath of allegiance to the Caliph al-Mustaṣir. This same month came intelligence that al-Nāṣir Dāwūd had formed an alliance with al-Jawād, and that they had agreed to throw off obedience to al-ʿĀdil. Al-Nāṣir even advanced to Gaza, where he caused the *khutbah* to be said in his name. But then a dispute occurred between him and al-Jawād, and al-Jawād proclaimed that he had returned into obedience to al-ʿĀdil.

When the troops returning from Damascus drew near to Cairo, al-ʿĀdil went out to meet and welcome them, and sent to them in their encampments largesse, robes of honor, and steeds. The soldiers renewed their oaths and bonds to him, and he was settled firmly in power. He drew on the treasury such monies for distribution among the soldiers, and was so inordinately generous in giving and donating, that he squandered in a short space what his father had collected over a prolonged period. But he commenced to remove from his court the emirs of the empire, and cut off the stipends of the great imperial officers and confined himself to men of his own making. Thus were the hearts of the great dignitaries turned from him, while he distracted himself by absorption (*inhimāk*) in wine-bibbing and much frivolity and corruption.

Meanwhile, al-Nāṣir Dāwūd had set out from Karak and rendered himself master of Gaza and the coastal plain. He formed a large new army and, issuing forth from Gaza, sent to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil to ask for his help in seizing Damascus.³

At the same time al-Mujāhid, prince of Ḥimṣ, became powerful after the death of al-Kāmil and marched upon Ḥamāh and laid siege to it. The inhabitants of Aleppo prepared for war, and enlisted an army of Khwārizmians and another of Turcomans. They were joined by a number of al-Malik's (al-Kāmil's)⁴ officers, whom they received with marks of distinction. They also sent to the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn, Sultan of Rūm, to

ask his assistance. He despatched his best troops to them, who took the field and reduced al-Ma'arraḥ, and then laid siege to Ḥamāh. They contended with its prince, al-Muẓaffar, but he remained firm and repelled them in several actions.

Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, son of al-Kāmil, was besieging al-Raḥbah⁵ when he heard of the death of his father, al-Malik al-Kāmil, and straightway raised the siege. But the Khwārizmians who were with him coveted the place, and renounced obedience to him and determined to seize his person. He made for Sinjār, where he resisted them awhile, having abandoned his treasure and impedimenta. These the Khwārizmians plundered, and they overran al-Jazīrah. The Sultan Ghiyāth-al-Dīn of Rūm also desired that country. He sent to al-Nāṣir, prince of Aleppo, a patent of rule for Edessa and Sarūj, which both belonged to al-Ṣāliḥ (Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb). He enfeoffed al-Manṣūr Nāṣir-al-Dīn al-Urtuqī, prince of Māridīn, with the cities of Sinjār and Nisibis, both of which also belonged to al-Ṣāliḥ. He gave in fief to al-Mujāhid (Asad-al-Dīn Shīrkūh), prince of Ḥims, the town of 'Ānah⁶ and other places of al-Khābur. He proposed to possess himself of Āmid and Samosata, which also were territories subject to al-Ṣāliḥ.

Al-Ṣāliḥ was meanwhile under siege in Sinjār. Al-Malik al-Raḥīm Badr-al-Dīn Lu'lu', prince of Mosul, was desirous of securing the person of al-Ṣāliḥ, and beset him at Sinjār in the month of Dhū'l-Qa'dah [15th June–14th July]. He wished to carry him to Baghdad in an iron cage, such was his loathing of al-Ṣāliḥ because of that prince's insolence, oppression, and pride. When Lu'lu' was on the point of taking Sinjār, al-Ṣāliḥ sent out the Qāḍi Badr-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-al-Ḥasan al-Zarzāri, Qāḍi of Sinjār, who shaved his beard and was let down the walls by a rope. The Qāḍi had been a leading personage in the kingdom of al-Ashraf (Mūsa), who had appointed him Qāḍi of Baalbek when he became ruler of Damascus. Later (after the death of al-Ashraf), al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn had installed him Qāḍi of Sinjār. He was a man of great style and of a broad beneficence and goodness. He possessed mamelukes, boy slaves, and a retinue of unmatched splendor. He became as one of the great officers, and would grand audiences to all the men of learning and members of prominent families.

The Qāḍi repaired secretly to the Khwārizmians and won them to him and cajoled them with his many promises. They therefore joined his cause, where before they had been in league with the prince of Māridīn. They had invaded the territories of al-Ṣāliḥ (Najm-al-Dīn) and conquered certain districts. They had laid siege to Ḥarrān, where was al-Mughīth Faṭḥ-al-Dīn 'Umar, son of al-Ṣāliḥ, who fled to the fortress of Ja'bar. The Khwārizmians had pursued him, and plundered all he had with him, but he had escaped from them to Manbij with a small detachment. He begged refuge of (his father's) aunt (Ḍayfah Khātun), mother of al-Malik al-'Azīz, prince of Aleppo, but she refused him, and he returned to Ḥarrān. Then a letter arrived from his father enjoining him to come to agreement with the Khwārizmians and to come with them to him to repel Badr-al-Dīn Lu'lu', prince of Mosul. Al-Mughīth and the Qāḍi Badr-al-Dīn joined with the Khwārizmians, the Qāḍi having pledged that they should be given in fief the cities of Sinjār, Ḥarrān, and Edessa. They were much gratified by this and, swearing allegiance to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, engaged themselves to serve his son al-Malik al-Mughīth and marched on Sinjār. The army of Mosul raised its siege, and set forward toward its own land. But the Khwārizmians pursued them, and inflicted great losses upon them. Badr-al-Dīn Lu'lu' fled alone on a fleet mare, and his army followed him. The Khwārizmians possessed themselves of all that he had with him, and became rich thereby. Through these events al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ was greatly strengthened, and his prestige became considerable. He sent the Khwārizmians to Āmid, which was under siege by the army of the Sultan of Rūm (Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Kaykhusraw) and defended by al-Mu'azzam Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Tūrānshāh, son of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb). The Khwārizmians fell upon the army of the Sultan of Rūm, and drove them from Āmid. In consequence al-Ṣāliḥ issued forth from Sinjār and went to Ḥiṣn Kayfa.

Al-Malik al-'Ādil sent an envoy from Egypt to the citizens of Aleppo, desiring that they should have the same relations with him as they had had with his father al-Kāmil, namely that his name should be included in the *khutbah* and pronounced in the pulpits of Aleppo, and that coinage should be struck in his name. But this they declined to do.

An ambassador arrived in Aleppo from the Sultan of Rūm, Ghiyāth-al-Dīn (Kaykhusraw), and arranged the marriage of Ghāziyah Khātūn, daughter of al-'Azīz,⁷ to the Sultan. a contract of marriage was also made between al-Malik al-Nāṣir, prince of Aleppo, and the sister of the Sultan Ghiyāth-al-Dīn. The Ṣāhib Kamāl-al-Dīn ibn-al-'Adīm drew up the contract (for the first of these marriages), and then left on his embassy to the sultanate of Rūm where he drew up the contract between al-Nāṣir, sovereign of Aleppo, and Malikah Khātūn, the sister of the Sultan Ghiyāth-al-Dīn. Thereupon Ghiyāth-al-Dīn despatched an ambassador to Aleppo, where the *khuṭbah* was said in his name.

Al-Malik al-Jawād set out from Damascus on the first of Dhū'l-Hijjah [15th July] to wage war with al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak. They met near Nablus, and al-Nāṣir was shamefully routed on Wednesday, the fourteenth of Dhū'l-Hijjah, and fled to Karak. Al-Jawād laid hands on all he had with him, and returned to Damascus. There he distributed six hundred thousand *dīnārs* and five thousand robes of honor. He abolished the *mukūs*⁸ taxes, prohibited the drinking of wine, and drove out the singing-girls. On the twenty-sixth of Dhū'l-Hijjah [9th August], the Egyptian troops in Damascus returned to Cairo under the command of the Emir 'Imād-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, bearing with them the banners [*sanajīq*] of al-Nāṣir. But this did not please al-Malik al-'Ādil, who became apprehensive of the power of al-Jawād.

This year the Tartars threatened Baghdad. The Caliph sent an army against them; many of them were killed, and the remainder fled.

The Grand Qāḍi, Shams-al-Dīn Abū'l-Barakāt Yaḥyā ibn-Hibat-Allāh ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Sanā'-al-Dawlah, the Shāfi'ite, died in Damascus on the fifth of Dhū'l-Qa'dah of this year. On the seventh the Grand Qāḍi Shams-al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn-al-Khalīl al-Khuwayyi was restored to the office.

The functions of the notaries [*shuhūd*] were laid down. Originally, in Damascus, they were scribes who would write out letters and such like (for clients), which done they would repair to the notaries [*'udūl*] who would certify the authority of the documents. The citizens of Cairo and Miṣr later adopted this system.

This year the Sharīf Shams-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥusayn al-Urmawī assumed the qāḍiship of the army and marshalcy of the nobility [*niqābat al-ashrāf*] in Egypt. His patent of investiture was read out in the great mosque in Miṣr in the presence of the Emir Jamāl-al-Dīn (Mūsa) ibn-Yaghmur and al-Falak al-Misyari. Copper coinage was abolished this year.

Al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nūr-al-Dīn 'Umar ibn-'Alī ibn-Rasūl set out from the Yemen this year for Mecca. The Emir Asad-al-Dīn Jughrīl burned all his impedimenta and departed with his troops from Mecca, on the seventh of Rajab [23rd February], two days before the arrival of the king of the Yemen. The armies met between Mecca and al-Sirrayn. The Bedouins who followed the Sharīf Rājīḥ forsook the field; and the Emir Shihāb-al-Dīn ibn-'Abdān, one of the emirs of the Yemen, was taken prisoner. He was placed in irons by the Emir Jughrīl and sent to Cairo. Jughrīl himself moved to Medina, where he received word of the death of the Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil. He thereupon left with his troops for Cairo, which they entered in separate columns during the month of Sha'bān [19th March-16th April]. The army of the Yemen remained in Mecca.

The Year 636 (A.H.)

[14th August, 1238-2nd August, 1239]

Al-Malik al-Jawād apprehended Ṣafī-al-Dīn ibn-Marzūq this year, and appropriated from him four hundred thousand *dīnārs*. He incarcerated him in the citadel of Ḥimṣ, where he languished for three years without seeing light. The responsibility for the administration of Damascus he entrusted to a eunuch of his wife's named al-Nāṣiḥ, who oppressed the people and extorted from them large sums of money.

Al-Jawād also arrested 'Imād-al-Dīn 'Umar,⁹ son of the Grand Shaykh, and then became fearful of the emir's brother, Fakhr-al-Dīn. He was restive with the sovereignty of Damascus and cried: "What can I do with the kingdom? A falcon and a hound are dearer to me than this," and went out to the chase. He wrote to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, son of al-Kāmil, offering him Damascus in exchange for Ḥiṣn Kayfa and Sinjār.

Al-Ṣāliḥ was delighted by this, and set out on his way to Damascus.

An ambassador arrived in Cairo this year from the Sultan of Rūm bearing condolences to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. The Aleppans raised the siege of Ḥamāh, after having put its ruler, al-Muẓaffar, to sore straits. When they had withdrawn, he destroyed the citadel of Bārīn, which had been strongly fortified.

The great emirs became incensed this year with al-Malik al-ʿĀdil on account of his surrounding himself with youths and favorites, to whom he bestowed money and fiefs, and whose conceptions he followed, and because of his complete withdrawal (from affairs), and his immersion in amusement to the neglect of the welfare of the state. Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak, then conceived the ambition of possessing himself of Egypt, and journeyed thither bearing fine gifts, among them being slave-girl cymbal and lute players and dancers, and rare drinking vessels. Al-ʿĀdil went out to meet him on the eighth of Shawwāl [14th May], and received him with all regard. Al-Nāṣir presented to him the slave-girls and vessels he had selected for him, and he achieved his object with al-ʿĀdil, who in return gave him similar gifts.

Al-Nāṣir became assiduous in service to al-ʿĀdil and attendance at his door, acting sometimes as a chamberlain, sometimes as master of the household, and sometimes as *dawādār*¹⁰ that he might enter upon him at any time and have access to him whenever he wished. He also thought to turn the emirs from al-ʿĀdil to himself. When he had gained mastery over al-ʿĀdil's mind, he filled it with suspicion of the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, by suggesting that the Emir had come to an agreement with al-Malik al-Muʿizz Mujīr-al-Dīn (Yaʿqūb), and had caused a number of emirs to favor that prince. Al-Nāṣir incited al-ʿĀdil to arrest Fakhr-al-Dīn. The Sultan was deceived, and he arrested Fakhr-al-Dīn and confined him in the Citadel of the Mount. He drove his uncle al-Malik al-Muʿizz and the brother of al-Muʿizz, al-Amjad Taqī-al-Dīn ʿAbbās, from Egypt.

When al-Nāṣir had achieved his design, he pictured to al-ʿĀdil that the emirs had inclined to al-Malik al-Jawād, his viceroy in Damascus, and that the Emir ʿImād-al-Dīn ʿUmar,

son of the Grand Shaykh, had placed himself at the disposal of al-Jawād. Al-'Imād heard of this, and was alarmed that what had befallen his brother might befall him. He met with al-Malik al-'Ādil, and undertook to bring al-Malik al-Jawād into his obedience in Egypt. Al-'Ādil then sent him forth from Cairo that he might conduct al-Jawād from Damascus.

Al-Jawād gave the emir cordial welcome, who soon commenced to discuss with him the question of his betaking himself to al-Malik al-'Ādil, but al-Jawād so dallied and procrastinated that al-'Imād became convinced that he would refuse to go to Cairo. He thereupon convoked the governors, the intendants, the deputies, and other high officers of the government of Damascus and its dependencies and said to them: "The Sultan al-Malik al-'Ādil has relieved al-Jawād of the vice-royalty of Damascus. Therefore pay him no monies (from the taxes), and accept from him no commands." This enraged al-Jawād, who arrested 'Imād-al-Dīn and imprisoned him in the citadel of Damascus.

Al-Jawād and al-Mujāhid, prince of Ḥimṣ, then decided to go into close alliance. They were supported by the Emir 'Imād-al-Dīn ibn-Qiliġ, the deputy of al-Jawād in Damascus. They determined that their aim could not be achieved save by killing al-'Imād, son of the Grand Shaykh. They sent emissaries to the leaders of the Ismā'ilites that this might be done, and presented them with money and a village. The Ismā'ilites sent two of their assassins,¹¹ who despatched al-'Imād at the door of the Great Mosque, on the twenty-sixth of Jumādā al-Ulā [4th January, 1239]. It was rumored that they had been mistaken in killing him, having intended to kill al-Malik al-Jawād, who much resembled the emir. Al-Malik al-'Ādil heard of this and was greatly enraged.

On the twentieth of Shawwāl [26th May] came intelligence that the army of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, under the command of his son al-Malik al-Mughīth Jalāl-al-Dīn 'Umar, had arrived at Jenin.¹²

Al-Malik al-'Ādil and al-Malik al-Nāṣir assembled the emirs, and they swore to fight al-Ṣāliḥ. Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd left Cairo on the ninth of Dhū-l-Qa'dah [13th June] to engage al-Ṣāliḥ, while al-'Ādil sent a number of emirs and a part of the Egyptian army to take Damascus.

Al-‘Ādil sent an ambassador to al-Jawād with a letter offering him the fortress of Shawbak and its dependencies, the port of Alexandria, and the province of al-Buḥayrah, Qalyūb, and ten villages of the district of al-Jīzah in Egypt if he would renounce his vice-sultanship of Damascus and present himself at the Citadel of the Mount to tender his counsels in the affairs of the nation. When this proposal arrived, his lieutenant ‘Imād-al-Dīn Qilij made al-Jawād apprehend that as soon as he should enter Egypt al-‘Ādil would seize his person, and that the sons of ‘Imād-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, would demand his blood (in revenge). Al-Jawād therefore refused to deliver up Damascus.

Al-Malik al-‘Ādil marched out from Cairo for Damascus on Tuesday, the last day of the month of Dhū-l-Ḥijjah [2nd August, 1239]. He encamped at Bilbays. Al-Jawād was now filled with misgiving, for he knew his inability to withstand al-‘Ādil. He sent Kamāl-al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Hibat-Allāh ibn-Ṭalḥah, the *khatīb* of the Great Mosque of Damascus, to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, sovereign of Ḥiṣn Kayfa, Diyār Bakr, and other parts of the eastern territories, to desire of him that he would take Damascus in exchange for Sinjār, al-Raqqah, and ‘Ānah. This was a most happy proposition for al-Ṣāliḥ who accepted it, and added al-Judaydah;¹³ he also swore his faithfulness to al-Jawād.

Al-Ṣāliḥ set his son al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Tūrānshāh over the eastern territories with his residence in Ḥiṣn Kayfa. He appointed governors for Āmid and Diyār Bakr, and delivered Ḥarrān, and Edessa, and all the country of the Jazīrah to the Khwārizmians who were in his service. He asked aid of the Emir Badr-al-Dīn Lu’lu’, prince of Mosul, with whom he had made peace, and Badr-al-Dīn sent him reinforcements.

Al-Ṣāliḥ then set out from the east for Damascus. Meanwhile al-Jawād had removed the name of al-Malik al-‘Ādil from the *khuṭbah*, and substituted that of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, son of al-Kāmil. He also struck coinage in the name of that prince. Al-Ṣāliḥ entered Damascus at the beginning of the month of Jumādā al-Ulā [10th December], accompanied by al-Jawād who bore the horse-cloth [*ghāshiyah*]¹⁴ before him. Al-Jawād by now regretted what he had done, and wished to

remedy events, but was unable. He quitted Damascus amidst the execrations of the people for the evil he had brought upon them. Al-Şāliḥ had sent word to him to restore to the people the monies he had extorted from them, but he had refused and departed. With al-Şāliḥ, al-Muẓaffar, prince of Ḥamāh, had also arrived, and al-Jawād had met him too. The day of al-Şāliḥ's entry into Damascus was a memorable day. He took up residence in the citadel.

And so al-Jawād left for his (new) dominions. The period of his vice-royalty in Damascus had been ten months and sixteen days. During that time he had spent all the monies that had been in al-Malik al-Kāmil's treasuries, and they exceeded six hundred thousand Egyptian *dīnārs*, exclusive of cloths and other things and not counting the sums he had extracted from merchants and officials, nor what he had wrung from Şafī-al-Dīn ibn Marzūq; this amounted to five hundred thousand *dīnārs*.

When once al-Malik al-Şāliḥ was installed in Damascus, al-Muẓaffar returned to Ḥamāh. The Khwārizmians advanced and laid siege to the city of Ḥimş, al-Muẓaffar being with them for a time. They then raised the siege, having secured no advantage, and returned to their land in the east. Al-Şāliḥ gave in marriage his sister, born of his mother and fathered by al-Fāris Qulayb, a mameluke of his own father al-Malik al-Kāmil, to the chief of the Khwārizmians, the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn Barakah Khān.

Meanwhile consecutive messengers were sent by al-Muẓaffar, prince of Ḥamāh, to al-Şāliḥ, urging him to attack Ḥimş. At the same time, the Egyptian emirs wrote to al-Şāliḥ inviting him to come to Cairo, and promising him their aid. Al-Şāliḥ marched out of Damascus and took the road to al-Bathanīyah.¹⁵ The Khwārizmians and the prince of Ḥamāh were then engaged in the siege of Ḥimş. (Al-Malik al-Mujāhid Asad-al-Dīn) Shīrkūh (prince of Ḥimş) sent large sums of money which were distributed among the Khwārizmians, who thereupon left for the east. With that the prince of Ḥamāh returned to Ḥamāh.

Al-Şāliḥ returned to Damascus, having in mind the possession of Egypt. Moving from Damascus to al-Kharibah¹⁶ he celebrated there the Feast of the Breaking of the Fast. His army lay below Thanīyat al-'Uqāb.¹⁷ He was in perplexity, not knowing whether to march on Ḥimş or on Egypt, and he remained in

his encampment until the beginning of the month of Ramaḍān, when he returned to Damascus. He ordered the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn Abū-ʿAlī ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Abū-ʿAlī (al-Hadhabānī), his master of the household at Damascus, to proceed with a detachment of troops to Jenin. The emir set out, and remained beneath ʿAqabat al-Kursi, on the shores of Lake Tiberias, until the end of the month of Ramaḍān.

When tidings reached Cairo of the advance on Egypt of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, seventeen emirs departed from the city. Among them were the Emir Nūr-al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn-Fakhr-al-Dīn ʿUthmān, the master of the household, the Emir ʿAlāʾ-al-Dīn ibn-al-Shihāb Aḥmad, the Emir ʿIzz-al-Dīn Aybak al-Kuraydi al-ʿĀdili, the Emir ʿIzz-al-Dīn Balbān al-Mujāhidi, the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn Luʾluʾ al-Masʿūdi, the Emir Ṣayf-al-Dīn Baṣṭar al-Khwārizmi, the Emir ʿIzz-al-Dīn Qaḍīb-al-Bān al-ʿĀdili, the Emir Shams-al-Dīn Sunqur al-Dunaysiri, and with them a great number of their followers and soldiers, as well as a group of officers of the household troops and of the sultanīc mamelukes.¹⁸ They took the road to join al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ in Damascus.

The cause of their desertion was as follows. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil had ordered the army to leave for the coastal plain of Palestine, placed at their head al-Rukn-al-Hayjāwy,¹⁹ and disbursed monies among the soldiers. But when the troops encamped at Bilbīs they fell into dissension, and a number of emirs conspired against al-ʿĀdil and resolved to go over to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. Al-ʿĀdil sent to them the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, and Bahāʾ-al-Dīn Malkīshū to placate them, but they did not respond. Furthermore, a number of the household troops broke out from Cairo together with a supply train and, resisting the closing (against them) of the Victory Gate, excitedly forced their way through, detachment by detachment.

Al-ʿĀdil sent a letter to the Kurdish emirs who remained with him desiring that they attack those who plotted against him at Bilbīs, before those plotters advanced upon them. The Kurds accordingly gave battle to the Turks at Bilbīs. The rebellious Turks were defeated, one of their emirs was taken prisoner, and the remainder took flight and were pursued into the neighborhood of Sunayyikah.²⁰ They were joined by the household troops who had broken out of Cairo, and together

they marched to Tell al-'Ajūl. The treasury that they had taken was restored intact to Cairo. They then sent to seek pardon of al-'Ādil, who accorded it to them and gave them his word. However, they did not return to him, but went on toward al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. When they reached Gaza, al-Ṣāliḥ instructed his master of the household to return to Khirbat al-Luṣūṣ, and he himself set out with the remainder of his army from Damascus, two nights before the end of the month of Ramaḍān [4th May], and encamped at the Khirbat.

The Emir Nūr-al-Dīn ibn-Fakhr-al-Dīn joined him there, and al-Ṣāliḥ was much gladdened by his arrival with his troops. They commenced to fortify his resolve to march on Egypt. He set forward and took possession of Nablus and the Jordan Valley, as well as the provinces of Jerusalem and the coastal plain. He sent his son, al-Malik al-Mughīth Faṭḥ-al-Dīn 'Umar, to Damascus, and the emirs who came to him from Egypt he enfeoffed with Nablus and its dependencies, that they might support themselves on the produce of those territories.

Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd left Egypt, and journeyed to Karak. Al-Malik al-'Ādil and his mother were greatly agitated by the approach of al-Ṣāliḥ, and were filled with great fear, while all Egypt was much disturbed. Fakhr-al-Qudāt Najm-al-Dīn ibn-Buṣāqah departed from Karak as ambassador of al-Nāṣir Dāwūd to al-Ṣāliḥ. He assured that prince that al-Nāṣir would aid and support him, and asked of him that he would restore Damascus and all the possessions of his father to al-Nāṣir. But to this al-Ṣāliḥ would not consent, and al-Nāṣir accordingly repaired to al-'Ādil to assist him in his struggle against his brother al-Ṣāliḥ. He took up lodging in the Vizirial Lodge in Cairo.

In the month of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah [5th July-2nd August], the Ṣāḥib Muḥyi-al-Dīn ibn-al-Jawzi came to al-Ṣāliḥ, as ambassador of the Caliph, to make peace between him and his brother al-'Ādil. Al-Ṣāliḥ celebrated his arrival with great respect. Nevertheless the emirs and others of Egypt were writing at short intervals to al-Ṣāliḥ, promising him their aid and assuring him that the land was his, so universal was the recognition of him for the sultanate.

This year al-Manṣūr Nāṣir-al-Dīn Urtuq ibn-Arslān, the

Turcoman, the Urtuqid, prince of Māridīn, died, having been murdered while drunk by his son, who reigned after him over Māridīn.

This year, also, war broke out between the tribes of Jurum, Judhām, and Thaʿlabah in the Sharqīyah province of Egypt, and many of them were killed, their (paramount) shaykh, Shamkh ibn-Najm being among them. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil sent the Emir Bahāʾ-al-Dīn Malkīshū to make peace between them. The Sultan was then at Bilbīs, having departed from the Citadel of the Mount with the Egyptian army at the end of the month of Dhū-l-Hijjah [2nd August].

The Year 637 (A.H.)

[3rd August, 1239–22nd July, 1240]

When this year opened al-Malik al-ʿĀdil was at Bilbīs with his army, with the aim of marching on Syria to wage war with his brother al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. He paused at Bilbīs, and his emirs resolved to seize his person. Certain of them gave a banquet, to which al-ʿĀdil went. But he perceived their design, and, rising, entered a tent to comply with the demands of nature. But he emerged from the rear of the tent, mounted a horse, and sped to the Citadel. The emirs sent after him, requesting him to return, but he explained that he had entered Cairo only to be present at the festival of cutting the embankments of the irrigation canals, and that he would return after that to them. Necessity then compelled him to leave for al-ʿAbbāsah on the twenty-fourth of Muḥarram [26th August], and he arrested a number of emirs.

In the middle of the month of Ṣafar [17th September], al-Nāṣir Dāwūd moved from al-ʿAbbāsah to Karak, accompanied by (the Emir Sayf-al-Dīn ʿAli) ibn-Qiliḡ and a number of the Egyptian emirs. Al-ʿĀdil meantime heard that Fakhr-al-Dīn Yūsuf, son of the Grand Shaykh, was in correspondence with al-Ṣāliḥ, whereupon he arrested him and threw him into prison. At the same time, Muḥyi-al-Dīn Abū-l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, son of the Shaykh Jamāl-al-Dīn Abū-l-Faraj ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān ibn-al-Jawzi, commenced to mediate between the princes. He proposed that Damascus should go to al-Ṣāliḥ, and Egypt to

al-ʿĀdil, and that the territories taken from al-Nāṣir Dāwūd should be restored to him. Muḥyi-al-Dīn stayed with al-Ṣāliḥ while his son, Sharaf-al-Dīn, went back and forth between Nablus and Egypt until negotiations were nearly completed. Muḥyi-al-Dīn then went himself to Egypt, accompanied by Jamāl-al-Dīn Yaḥya ibn-Maṭrūḥ, minister of the Department of War,²¹ to al-Ṣāliḥ. They discharged their office, and took up residence at the court of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil.

Meanwhile al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ had been writing to his uncle al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād-al-Dīn Ismāʿīl to join him at Nablus. He had sent to him the physician Saʿd-al-Dīn al-Dimashki with carrier pigeons by which he might send express messages to him concerning developments. There resulted an extraordinary story. When Saʿd-al-Dīn arrived at the citadel of Baalbek, al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād-al-Dīn gave him lodging in a certain house, at the same time (secretly) replacing Saʿd-al-Dīn's pigeons with others from the pigeon loft in the Baalbek citadel. Al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād-al-Dīn was engaged in arrangements to take Damascus by seizing it from his nephew al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb. He sent secret envoys to his (other) nephew al-ʿĀdil informing him of his intention to take Damascus. He further assured al-ʿĀdil that he acknowledged his suzerainty and was in obedience to him, and promised that if he gained Damascus he would cause his name to be included in the *khuṭbah* pronounced in the pulpits and would strike coinage in his name. Al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād-al-Dīn also wrote to al-Mujāhid, prince of Ḥimṣ, desiring his aid. And all the time he was sending letters to al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn, promising him that he would come to his assistance. Meanwhile he began to muster an army. All this the physician Saʿd-al-Dīn comprehended, and he sent despatches on the wings of the pigeons relating the whole affair to al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn. But whenever Saʿd-al-Dīn released one of them it returned to its loft in the citadel of Baalbek, whence the keeper brought the message to al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād-al-Dīn. This prince then forged a message purporting to come from Saʿd-al-Dīn which said: "Your kinsman, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād-al-Dīn, is anxious to march to join your victorious army, and remains in obedience." This forged letter he released on one of the pigeons brought by the physician Saʿd-al-Dīn, and when al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-

al-Dīn received it he believed that it had come from his emissary and was much satisfied. Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād-al-Dīn continued to send forged messages, for whenever the physician released a pigeon it returned to the citadel of Baalbek and was delivered to al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād-al-Dīn.

Another singular affair occurred as follows. Al-Muẓaffar, prince of Ḥamāh, had sided with al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn and was resolved to assist him, and had included his name in the *khutbah* in his territories. The Aleppans and al-Mujāhid, prince of Ḥimṣ, were opposed to him, and were in alliance against him. Al-Muẓaffar, prince of Ḥamāh, learned that his uncle al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād-al-Dīn, prince of Baalbek, was about to attack Damascus, and that al-Mujāhid, prince of Ḥimṣ, was his ally. The Damascus army was at that time with al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn at Nablus. It numbered five thousand, and there were none in Damascus to defend the city. Al-Muẓaffar therefore feared for Damascus. He thereupon secretly arranged with Emir Sayf-al-Dīn ('Ali) ibn-Abū-'Ali (al-Hadhabāni) that the emir should pretend to be enraged with him and quit him. The leading men of the city would then think that al-Muẓaffar had resolved to surrender Ḥamāh to the Franks on account of the guile of his neighbors, who designed to dispossess him of his territories. By this artifice, al-Muẓaffar intended to deceive the prince of Ḥimṣ, while the Emir Sayf-al-Dīn should proceed with the army and the great personages to Damascus and there remain and defend it until al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ should leave for Egypt or return to Damascus.²²

Accordingly Sayf-al-Dīn made a display of anger toward al-Muẓaffar, and taking with him a part of the army and some of the notables of Ḥamāh, left the city and came to Ḥimṣ, encamping beside Lake Quds. But the stratagem of al-Muẓaffar was apparent to al-Mujāhid, who went out from Ḥimṣ and sent word to Sayf-al-Dīn that he would like to meet him. So Sayf-al-Dīn went to him unaccompanied, and informed him that he abhorred the ill cause of al-Muẓaffar in his policy of understanding with the Franks and his intention to surrender Ḥamāh to them. Al-Mujāhid expressed his gratification, and displayed graciousness to Sayf-al-Dīn, and invited him to be his guest in Ḥimṣ. When Sayf-al-Dīn had gone with him into

the fortress, al-Mujāhid invited his supporters to lodge in the city. Some of them came in, but others refused to enter Hims. As soon as al-Mujāhid had Sayf-al-Dīn in his power he arrested him and imprisoned him with those who had entered the city; the remainder fled. He inflicted the severest punishments on those he had caught, and confiscated all their properties. Sayf-al-Dīn remained in confinement until the end of his days. Al-Muẓaffar was much weakened by this loss of men from his army.

Al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād-al-Dīn and al-Mujāhid then marched on Damascus at the head of a large army. They took the city, declaring at the same time their allegiance to al-Malik al-'Ādil, sovereign of Egypt, on the twenty-seventh of Ṣafar [28th September]. They then took possession of the citadel of Damascus, and cast al-Mughīth, son of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn, into prison. Tidings of this reached al-Ṣāliḥ while he was at Nablus. He kept it secret, but sent the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-Abū-'Ali al-Hadhabāni, his master of the household, with an army toward Damascus, and followed it himself. When Ibn-Abū-'Ali arrived at al-Kiswah, he learned that Damascus had been wrested from them, and he returned to al-Ṣāliḥ, who was then encamped at Baysān, and apprised him of the news. Al-Ṣāliḥ thereupon marched with him to al-Qusayr al-Ma'īni in the (Jordan) Valley.

The troops of al-Ṣāliḥ learned of the taking of Damascus from letters written to them by al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād-al-Dīn to draw them to his service. Their loyalty was undermined, they turned against al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn on account of the disruption of his fortune and deserted him, so that he remained with less than a hundred emirs and soldiers. The members of his household and those of his kinsmen who were with him also deserted him, as did Badr-al-Dīn, the Qāḍi of Sinjār, his closest associate. They all repaired to Damascus, having despaired that after these happenings al-Ṣāliḥ (Najm-al-Dīn) could reestablish himself. The Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-'Ali, his master of the household, remained faithful to him, as did Zayn-al-Dīn, commander of his *jandars*, and Shihāb-al-Dīn ibn-Sa'd-al-Dīn Kūjibā, whose father Sa'd-al-Dīn was the son of al-Malik al-Kāmil's aunt. The Emir Shihāb-al-Dīn al-Bawāshiqi also remained with some eighty of his mamelukes, and so did his secretary, Bahā'-

al-Dīn Zuhayr. The *ṭawāshi* Shihāb-al-Dīn Fākhir fled, taking with him a great part of al-Ṣāliḥ's clothing and a number of his young mamelukes and pages, and joined those who had gone to Damascus.

Al-Ṣāliḥ's courage crumbled at the desertion of his troops, and he became convinced of the collapse of his cause. He departed in the night. A group of Bedouins encountered him and sought to seize him, but those who were with him put them to flight so that he escaped from them and came to Nablus, where he encamped outside the town.

When the troops who had betrayed al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn arrived in Damascus, al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād-al-Dīn arrested his two brothers, (al-Muʿizz) Mujīr-al-Dīn (Yaʿqūb) and (al-Amjad) Taqī-al-Dīn (ʿAbbās). He also seized the persons of the Egyptian emirs ʿIzz-al-Dīn Aybak al-Kurdi,²³ ʿIzz-al-Dīn Qaḍīb al-Bān Sunqur-al-Dunaysiri, and Balbān al-Mujāhidi. Nūr-al-Dīn ibn-Fakhr-al-Dīn ʿUthman removed to Baghdad.

Meanwhile al-Malik al-ʿĀdil had changed his feelings toward al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, who left the Sultan at Bilbīs and went with the Emir (Sayf-al-Dīn) ʿAli ibn-Qiliġ to Karak. From there he wrote to al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn and promised him his aid. (But this was a deceit.)²⁴ He then moved to Nablus with his army and seized the person of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn. It is said, besides, that he sent men to apprehend al-Ṣāliḥ when he was alone, and, to humiliate him, made him ride a mule, without spurs or a whip, on the night of Saturday, the twelfth of Rabīʿ al-Awwal [12th October]. He sent him to Karak, and left with him no one but a single mameluke, called Rukn-al-Dīn Baybars.²⁵ He sent along with him his slave-girl, Shajar al-Durr,²⁶ mother of his son Khalīl, and gave him residence in the citadel. Al-Nāṣir then provided all that al-Ṣāliḥ might need, so that he could repine of nothing save the loss of his kingdom.

Bahāʾ-al-Dīn Zuhayr and a number of al-Ṣāliḥ's mamelukes joined al-Nāṣir Dāwūd. He had offered them the choice, and they elected to join him. The Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-ʿAli and Zayn-al-Dīn, al-Ṣāliḥ's commander of *jandars*, requested of al-Nāṣir that they might go to Damascus. He consented, but when they arrived in that city, al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād-al-Dīn arrested them.

On the seventeenth of Rabī' al-Awwal [17th October] al-Malik al-'Ādil returned to Cairo, having sent Rukn-al-Dīn al-Hayjāwī at the head of some troops to guard the coastal plain (of Palestine). When al-'Ādil heard what had happened to his brother, of his ignominious capture, the confiscation of his wealth, and his imprisonment in Karak, he rejoiced exceedingly, deeming that he had thus become secure. He proclaimed that Cairo and Miṣr should be decorated, and this was done. A great feast was laid out on the Black Esplanade beneath the Citadel of the Mount. There were castles made from confections, tanks of lemonade, 2,500 roasted heads of cattle, and such like foods. 1,500 loaves of sugar were used. Al-'Ādil called all the populace to the feast, and they attended, the great and the humble.

News of all this came to al-Šāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn while he was imprisoned at Karak. Al-'Ādil himself was not satisfied with this imprisonment of his brother, and he sent the Emir 'Alā'-al-Dīn ibn-al-Nābulsi to al-Nāṣir Dāwūd to request him to despatch to him his brother in an iron cage under guard. In return he offered him four hundred thousand *dīnārs* and the city of Damascus, and swore a great oath to observe this. When this letter reached al-Nāṣir, he showed it to al-Šāliḥ and caused the messenger who had brought it to come before him. He then wrote to al-Malik al-'Ādil as follows: "The letter of the Sultan has reached me, asking that his brother be sent to him in an iron cage. You will give me four hundred thousand Egyptian *dīnārs* and take Damascus from him who holds it and give it to me. As for money, you possess much. As for Damascus, when you have taken it from him who possesses it and delivered it to me I shall deliver your brother to you. That is my reply. Salutations."

When this reply reached al-'Ādil, he commanded that the troops be put in readiness to march to Syria. Muḥyi-al-Dīn ibn-al-Jawzī departed from Cairo with Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Maṭrūḥ, ambassador of al-Šāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn, who had sought his protection after his master had been arrested and imprisoned in Karak.

Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd wrote to his cousin al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, who was his prisoner at Karak, to console him;

and al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn replied, thanking Dāwūd for the sentiment.

During these quarrels between the (Ayyūbid) princes, the Franks constructed a citadel in Jerusalem, making David's Tower one of its towers. This tower had been left when al-Malik al-Mu‘aẓẓam had razed the walls of Jerusalem. When al-Nāṣir Dāwūd learned of this (action of the Franks), he marched to Jerusalem and bombarded it with mangonels until he took it by storm, after a siege of twenty-one days, on the ninth of Jumādā al-Ulā [7th December], with a part of the Egyptian army. David's Tower was not taken until the fifteenth of the month. The Franks were granted their lives, but not their properties. Al-Nāṣir destroyed David's Tower, took possession of Jerusalem, and drove out the Franks, who returned to their country.

The conquest of Jerusalem coincided with the arrival of Muḥyi-al-Dīn ibn-al-Jawzi and Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Maṭrūḥ. Jamāl-al-Dīn wrote the following pleasant and agreeable verses in praise of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd and mentioned his likeness to his uncle al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf in the conquest of Jerusalem, and that they shared name and deed:

The Mosque of al-Aqsa' has a custom
which through the world a proverb has
become:

If infidels should there become installed,
God surely then will send to it a Nāṣir.
A Nāṣir saved it once, and will again.

On Sunday, the fourteenth of Rabī' al-Awwal [14th October], a battle took place between the Franks and the Egyptian army occupying the coastal plain in which the Franks were defeated. Their kings, their counts, eighty horsemen, and 250 foot soldiers were captured and removed to Cairo. One thousand eight hundred of them were killed, while only ten of the Muslims perished.

After this Ibn-al-Jawzi proceeded to Damascus, where he attempted to make peace between al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād-al-Dīn and al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, and al-‘Ādil. But he did not succeed, and he returned to Cairo in the month of Ramaḍān [26th March—

24th April]. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil bestowed a royal gift upon Ibn-Sunqur al-Dunaysiri and upon his son, his mother, his wife, and his secretary.

Ibn-Maṭrūḥ went to al-Muẓaffar at Ḥamāh, and that prince sent him on an embassy to the Khwārizmians in the east urging them to come to the assistance of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn. He took with him also a letter from al-Nāṣir Dāwūd in which al-Nāṣir said: "I do not keep al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ at Karak save to preserve his life, being apprehensive of his brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil and his uncle al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād-al-Dīn. I shall release him and make him sovereign of the land. March therefore on Aleppo and Ḥimṣ." Accordingly Ibn-Maṭrūḥ journeyed to them and discharged his errand and returned to Ḥamāh.

Meanwhile al-Malik al-Mujāhid Asad-al-Dīn Shīrkūh ibn-Nāṣir-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-Shīrkūh, prince of Ḥimṣ, died on the nineteenth of Rajab [14th February]. The duration of his reign over Ḥimṣ had been some fifty-six years. He was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir-al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who contracted an alliance with al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād-al-Dīn.

Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd now became angered with al-Malik al-ʿĀdil because the Sultan did not assist him to take Damascus; and al-ʿĀdil was incensed with al-Nāṣir because that prince had not delivered al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn to him. Al-Nāṣir was also indignant with al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād-al-Dīn, and threatened him that he would release al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn and help him to conquer the land.

Al-Muẓaffar, prince of Ḥamāh, did not include the name of al-ʿĀdil in the *khutbah* after that of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn had been expunged, because of his sympathy for Najm-al-Dīn. At the beginning of the month of Ramaḍān [26th March], al-Muẓaffar sent the Qāḍi Shihāb-al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn-ʿAbdullāh ibn-ʿAbd-al-Munʿim ibn-Abi ʿl-Damm, Qāḍi of Ḥamāh, on an embassy to al-ʿĀdil in Cairo. He also charged him secretly with a message to al-Nāṣir Dāwūd in Karak, proposing that he release al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn and aid him in seizing the country. The Qāḍi informed al-Nāṣir of this, and continued his way to Egypt.

Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd restored his liberty to al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn on the seventeenth of Ramaḍān [11th April], and called on

him to join him at Nablus. When al-Šāliḥ drew near, al-Nāṣir went out to meet him and do him honor. He furnished him with the imperial tent, and returned to him those of his mamlukes and officers who were at al-Nāṣir's court. Among these were the Emir Shihāb-al-Dīn ibn-Kūjaba, Shihāb-al-Dīn ibn-al-Ghars, and his secretary Bahā'al-Dīn Zuhayr.

By the command of al-Nāṣir, the *khaṭīb* of Nablus invoked blessings on the name of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ and proclaimed his sovereignty on the day of the breaking of the fast [25th April]. The two princes then journeyed to Jerusalem. They made a covenant that Egypt should go to al-Šāliḥ, and Syria and the eastern territories to al-Nāṣir, to whom al-Šāliḥ should give two hundred thousand *dīnārs*. Al-Šāliḥ had been confined for seven months and several days.

From Jerusalem they moved to Gaza. Intelligence of this reached al-'Ādil in Egypt, and he was greatly disturbed. He commanded that the imperial tent and the troops be brought out, and he marched toward Bilbīs in the middle of the month of Dhū'l-Qa'dah [8th June]. He also wrote to al-Šāliḥ 'Imād-al-Dīn to take the field with the Damascus army; and that prince accordingly took the road with his troops to al-Fawwār.

Al-Šāliḥ (Najm-al-Dīn) and al-Nāṣir were fearful that the armies of Egypt and Syria would meet together to move upon them, and therefore they withdrew from Gaza to Nablus where they might be supported by Karak.

Al-Malik al-'Ādil was avid for pleasure. He lavished favors on youths, buffoons, and profligates, such that it was reckoned that his expenses in this direction alone amounted to six million *dīnārs* and twenty million *dirhams*.²⁷ He gave to a black slave whom he had made the bearer of his wash-basin, and who was known as Ibn Karsūn, a patent conferring on him the fief that attaches to the command of fifty horsemen. When the slave, bearing his patent, emerged from the Bāb al-Qullah in the Citadel of the Mount, he encountered the Emir Rukn-al-Dīn al-Hayjāwī, one of the great emirs, and showed him the patent. The emir was filled with fury, and struck him in the face and seized the patent from him. An intense aversion arose between al-Malik al-'Ādil and the emirs, a great number of whom quitted his service.

These events were taking place at the time that al-'Ādil encamped at Bilbīs. The Emir 'Izz-al-Dīn Aybak al-Asmar, commander of the Ashrafi emirs, set to and conspired with a number of Ashrafi emirs and mamelukes to depose al-'Ādil and arrest him. In this they were joined by Jawhar al-Nūbi and Shams al-Khāwāṣṣ, servants [*khuddām*] of al-Kāmil, and certain others of the household of al-Kāmil such as Masrūr al-Kāmili and Kāfūr al-Fā'izi. By night they rode and surrounded the great tent of al-Malik al-'Ādil, and threw themselves upon him, and seized him. They assigned those who should guard him in a tent; and no one moved to help him save the Kurds, who attempted to rally to him, but the Turks and the servants fell upon them and committed havoc upon them. The Kurds thereupon fled to Cairo.

It is said that Aybak al-Asmar had heard that al-Malik al-'Ādil, being drunk with his youths and favorites, had said to them once: "Shortly you will drink the blood of Aybak al-Asmar and those evil slaves so and so and so and so," naming them. They thereupon determined to oppose him. They were strengthened in their purpose when Ibn-Karsūn requested of the Sultan that he should deliver up to him the Emir Shujā'-al-Dīn ibn-Barghash, governor [*wālī*] of Qūṣ, and, gaining possession of his person, inflicted upon him the severest punishments and was most inventive in torturing him. He had rejected all the intercessions of the emirs on Shujā'-al-Dīn's behalf. Al-Malik al-'Ādil so excessively favored Ibn-Karsūn that the slave discharged the most important business for him. This infuriated men and disgusted them.

Al-'Ādil was deposed on Friday, the ninth of Shawwāl [4th May]. He had reigned for two years, two months, and eighteen days, the first day of his reign being a Thursday, and the last also a Thursday, the ninth of Shawwāl in the year 637. During his reign he squandered inordinate sums. His father al-Malik al-Kāmil left over six million Egyptian *dīnārs* and twenty million *dirhams*, and all this al-'Ādil dissipated. He would send money to the emirs and others in the back-baskets of porters, and there remained no one in his kingdom whom he did not include in his bounty. His period in Egypt was wholly one of merriment and enjoyment through the softness of his character

and his great liberality. The learned Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Jazzār said of al-Malik al-'Ādil Abī-Bakr ibn-al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn-al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū-Bakr ibn-Ayyūb:

He is the lion whose courage is feared by all who dare beard him;
He is the rain whose bounty is sought by all who need rain.
He has built up the kingdom his forebears established,
And thus became lord of a realm well founded.
Islam so prospered by him, that his sultanship became a model
to seekers after truth;
So say to those whose faith in truth be shaken,
That we obeyed (the Sultan) Abū-Bakr by command of (his
father the Sultan) Muḥammad.

Allusion is thus made to al-'Ādil's brother, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, for their father, al-Kāmil Muḥammad, set up this al-'Ādil in Egypt, sending al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb to the East.

When al-'Ādil was established in the sultanship after his father, al-Burhān ibn-al-Faqīh Naṣr said:

Say to him who feared for Egypt after it had become secure,
What does he expect of it, and what does he fear?
For if (the Sultan) Muḥammad died and left Egypt,
Did he not set up (the Sultan) Abū-Bakr as his successor?²⁸

CHAPTER 7

The Reign of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, Son of al-Kāmil

*The Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ
Abū-'l-Futūḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb,
Son of al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad,
Son of al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū-Bakr
Ibn-Ayyūb.*

When this prince's brother, al-Malik al-'Ādil, was arrested, the Emir 'Izz-al-Dīn Aybak al-Asmar favored al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād-al-Dīn Ismā'il, prince of Damascus. But the Kāmili servants and mamelukes inclined to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn, and they were more numerous. 'Izz-al-Dīn was unable to resist them, and all agreed to write to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn to call him to the throne. Their letters reached him at a time when he and al-Nāṣir Dāwūd were in extreme fear and shaking with fright at their weakness in the face of the armies of Egypt and Syria.

The news brought them unheard pleasure, and they set forward at once upon the road to Egypt. When they entered the (Sinai) Desert, they were joined by groups of Egyptian emirs at every halting place until they reached Bilbīs on Monday the ninth . . . [lacuna] after the *khutbah* had been said in his name in Cairo and Miṣr on the fifteenth of the month.

Since the time of their leaving Gaza, al-Nāṣir Dāwūd had changed his feelings toward al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn and discussed his murder. When they were encamped at Bilbīs, al-Nāṣir became inebriated and went to al-'Ādil and said to him: "What think you now of the things of which I advised you, and which you heeded not?" Al-'Ādil replied: "O my lord, I have repented." "Put your heart at rest," rejoined al-Nāṣir, "I shall now obtain

your release," whereupon he went and entered upon al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and stood before him. "In the name of God, (greetings)," said al-Ṣāliḥ, "be seated." "I will not sit until you release al-ʿĀdil," answered al-Nāṣir. "Sit down," said al-Ṣāliḥ again, but al-Nāṣir repeated his utterance, and did not cease to do so until he fell into a slumber.

Then al-Ṣāliḥ rose at once and departed in the night, taking with him al-ʿĀdil in a litter and entering Cairo with him. He gained possession of the Citadel of the Mount on Friday, the twenty-third of Shawwāl [18th May], without trouble.

Thus was al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn seated upon the throne of the empire. He confined his brother al-ʿĀdil in one of his houses, and he caused the emirs to swear to him the oath of allegiance. Cairo and Miṣr and their suburbs, as well as the Citadel of the Mount, were splendidly decorated, and the population rejoiced exceedingly because of his nobility and wisdom. Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd took up residence in the Vizirial Lodge in Cairo. Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ did not ride forth on the day of the Festival of the River, on account of the dissension among the soldiers, of which he had heard.

In the month of Dhū-'l-Hijjah [23rd June-22nd July], al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ caused al-Malik al-ʿĀdil to be brought before him, and he questioned him on certain matters. He then examined the Public Treasury and the Imperial Chest and found only one *dīnār* and one thousand *dirhams*. He was informed of the sums his brother had squandered, and thereupon summoned the qāḍis and emirs who had seized his brother and said to them: "For what reason did you seize your sultan?" "Because he was improvident," they answered. "O qāḍis," rejoined al-Ṣāliḥ, "is it lawful for a spendthrift to disburse the monies of the public treasury of the Muslims?" "No," they replied. "I swear by God, then," declared al-Ṣāliḥ, "unless you deliver up what you have taken from the treasury, your lives will be taken in exchange." They went forth and brought to him 785,000 *dīnārs*, and 2,300,000 *dirhams*. He forbore with them for a little, and then arrested them one by one.

Al-Ṣāliḥ then summoned to him the Qāḍi Shihāb-al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn-ʿAbdullāh ibn-ʿAbd-al-Munʿim ibn-ʿAli ibn-Muḥammad, commonly known as Ibn-Abī-'l-Damn, who had been in

Egypt since he had come there on behalf of al-Muẓaffar, prince of Ḥamāh. Al-Ṣāliḥ sent him back to Ḥamāh with marks of distinction. He invested Ibn-al-Jawzi, the ambassador of the Caliph, with the robe of honor, and charged him with a letter for the caliph's bureau [*dīwān al-'azīz*] in which he made certain complaints. The vestments of honor sent by the Caliph had arrived in Cairo, and al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ had donned them. A *minbar* had been set up which Ibn-al-Jawzi had ascended and read the patent investing al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. The Sultan had stood before the *minbar* until al-Jawzi had finished his reading. Al-Ṣāliḥ also gave the Ṣāḥib Kāmil-al-Dīn ibn-al-'Adīm, the ambassador of Aleppo, leave to return.¹

The Sultan now became alarmed at news which reached him constantly of secret meetings between al-Nāṣir Dāwūd and the emirs, particularly since that prince had requested of him that he should grant him the fortress of Shawbak and he had refused. Al-Nāṣir was incensed at this and, seeking leave to depart to Karak, left Cairo in high choler. He had learned that al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl had emerged from Damascus, that he had agreed with the Franks to cede the (Palestine) coast to them, and that the Franks had reached Nablus.

The Sultan alleged that he had promised Jerusalem to al-Nāṣir only as a stratagem, for he was at that time under the power and command of that prince. When al-Nāṣir reached Karak, he demanded of the Sultan the monies which, when in that fortress, he had undertaken to pay to al-Nāṣir. These sums the Sultan conveyed to al-Nāṣir, and without delay he despatched an army with him for the conquest of Damascus, relying on what he had arranged with him.

Meanwhile the nobles [*ashrāf*] were debating an attack upon the Sultan and, being fearful of them, he abstained for a time from riding in processions.

The Sultan appointed as his vizir the Ṣāḥib Mu'in-al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn-al-Shaykh, and charged him with the direction of all the affairs of the empire. The Ṣāḥib was then at Birkat al-Ḥajj, before noon, on Thursday the eleventh of Dhū'l-Qa'dah [3rd June], and he at once commenced to administer the empire, and to see to the welfare of the land.

Shajar al-Durr, wife of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, gave birth to a son

whom they named Khalīl and who was described as al-Malik al-Manṣūr. When al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ came to his encampment at 'Abbāsah on Sunday, the seventeenth of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah [9th June], he caused Rukn-al-Dīn al-Hayjāwī to be arrested on Monday, the eighteenth of the month, and sent him to Cairo.

This year the Shaykh 'Izz-al-Dīn 'Abd-al-'Azīz 'Abd-al-Salām ibn-Abī 'l-Qāsim was installed *khaṭīb* of Damascus on Wednesday, the third of Rabī' al-Ākhir. He was appointed by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād-al-Dīn Ismā'il, son of al-Ādil, and he pronounced the *khutbah* in the name of the (Saljūq) Sultan of Rūm.

This year 'Uthmān ibn-'Abd al-Ḥaqq ibn-Maḥyū ibn-'Abī-Bakr ibn-Hamāmah, emir of the Banī Marīn, was killed. He was the first among the Marinids to achieve sovereignty. He conquered the Rīf of the Maghrib, levied contributions from its inhabitants, and was recognized as ruler by most of the tribes. His sway extended to the frontiers of the Maghrib, including Fez, Tāza, and Miknāsah, and he imposed on them taxes which were brought to him. 'Uthmān was succeeded by his brother, Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥaqq.

The Sharīf Shayḥah ibn-Qāsim, Emir of Medina, marched on Mecca this year with a thousand horsemen of the Egyptian army. Ibn-Rasūl, king of the Yemen, sent against him the Sharīf Rājīḥ with an army, and Shayḥah fled from Mecca, which was occupied by the Yemenite army.

The Year 638 (A.H.)

[23rd July, 1240–11th July, 1241]

This year the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ commenced to supervise the improvement of his realm, to settle the foundations of his empire, and to attend to the prosperity of Egypt. He sent Zayn-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-Zakari at the head of an army into Upper Egypt to combat the (Bedouin) Arabs. He pursued those who had seized his brother, al-Malik al-Ādil, and, taking them prisoner, appropriated all their possessions and put a number of them to death.

A certain number of the Ashrafis took to flight. The Sultan caused the Emir 'Izz-al-Dīn Aybak al-Asmar, the Ashrafi, to be arrested in Alexandria; and in Cairo and its environs it was

proclaimed that whoever should conceal any Ashrafi would be dispossessed of his property. The gates of Cairo were closed for three days, all save the Bāb al-Zuwaylah, in order that the Ashrafis might be apprehended; they were seized and led away to prison. The Sultan also had Jawhar al-Nūbi and Shams-al-Khawāṣṣ Masrūr arrested at Damietta. They were dependents of al-Kāmil and had assisted in the deposal of al-ʿĀdil. Shibl-al-Dawlah Kāfūr al-Fāʿizi was arrested in the eastern district of Egypt and confined in the Citadel of the Mount. A number of Turks of the household troops² and certain of the Kāmili emirs were also apprehended. Whenever the Sultan seized an emir he gave his apanage to one of his own mamelukes and advanced him. Thus most of the officers of state were his mamelukes, whom he could rely upon and trust, and his authority in this way was assured and his resolution strengthened.

On the ninth of Rabiʿ al-Ākhir [28th October], a Sunday, a male son was born to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb by a favorite slave. Al-Ṣāliḥ desired to leave some memorial of him, and ordered the construction of the Citadel of the Island of Rawḍah, opposite Miṣr al-Fuṣṭāṭ [old Cairo]. The digging of the foundations was commenced on Wednesday, the fifth of Shaʿbān [19th February], and building began at the end of the third hour of Friday, the sixteenth of the month [2nd March]. On the tenth of Dhū-l-Qaʿdah [2nd June] the houses, castles, and mosques on the Island of Rawḍah were razed and the inhabitants were moved from their dwellings on it. Palaces for the Sultan were then built and enclosed by high walls, monies beyond computation being spent. When its construction was completed, the Sultan moved there from the Citadel of the Mount and lived there with his household, his wives, and his mamelukes. Al-Ṣāliḥ was much given to building.

This year the army which had been prepared for the invasion of the Yemen returned (to Cairo) in the month of Ramaḍān [16th March–14th April]. This was done out of apprehension of the Ashrafi mamelukes and their clients, who had been planning to issue forth from Cairo and to attack the army encamped at Birkat al-Jubb. But their mission miscarried, and the Sultan despatched three hundred mamelukes of them to Mecca in order to take it from the Yemenites.³ At their head

he placed (the Emir Majd-al-Dīn) Aḥmad ibn-al-Turkumāni, and (the Emir Mubārīz-al-Dīn 'Alī ibn-al-Ḥusayn) ibn Birtās.⁴ For the Sultan had heard that the sovereign of the Yemen had despatched an army for the conquest of Mecca. The Egyptian forces set out at the end of the month of Ramaḍān, and entered Mecca during the month of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah [14th May–12th June]. The Yemenites in the city took to flight.

The Qāḍi of Sinjār, Badr-al-Dīn, returned this year from the land of Rūm, whither he had gone on an embassy from al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād-al-Dīn, prince of Damascus. Reports had reached him that al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn had become master of Egypt, at the time when he was leaving Rūm with the object of returning to Damascus. He thereupon betook himself to Maşyāf,⁵ in the territory of the Ismā'ilites, and began to contrive means of reaching Egypt. Intelligence of this reached al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il, and he sent to Badr-al-Dīn commanding him to present himself. But the Qāḍi refused, and sought the protection of the Ismā'ilites who granted it to him, and denied him to al-Ṣāliḥ. They conducted him to Ḥamāh, where al-Muẓaffar received him with honor and gave him residence at his court. Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Maṭrūḥ had also resorted to al-Muẓaffar, and Ḥamāh became a refuge for all who were attached to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn, and from there news of all happenings in Syria and the eastern territories reached him in Egypt.

This year al-Nāṣir Dāwūd began to despair of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn's granting him Damascus. He therefore abandoned his support of the Sultan, and turned to al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il and al-Manşūr, prince of Ḥimş. The three rulers entered into an alliance against al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn.

The Khwārizmians this year invaded the lands belonging to the fortress of Ja'bar and to Bālis,⁶ ravaging them and slaughtering many of their inhabitants, the remainder fleeing to Aleppo and to Manbij. Badr-al-Dīn Lu'lu', prince of Mosul, meanwhile took possession of Sinjār, driving thence al-Malik al-Jawād Yūnus ibn-Mawdūd ibn-al-'Ādil Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb.⁷ That prince repaired to Syria, where he fell into the hands of al-Nāṣir Dāwūd who seized him in Gaza on Sunday, the eighteenth of Dhū-'l-Ḥijjah [30th June], and despatched him to Karak.

The Khwārizmians then joined with the prince of Mosul, bringing their combined numbers to some twelve thousand men, and marched on Aleppo. The Aleppan army took the field to give them battle but was routed, many of its soldiers being killed, while the Khwārizmians looted all that they had with them. The inhabitants of Aleppo were able to defend the city, but its provinces were ravaged, and all manner of abominations were committed in carrying off captives, and in carnage and destruction. The people of Manbij they put to the sword, killing of them souls beyond number; they laid waste about them, they ravished women publicly in the mosque, and they massacred the infants. And when they departed, all around Aleppo was devastation. The Khwārizmians proclaimed that they did what they did in the service of the ruler of Egypt, the people of Aleppo, Ḥimṣ, and Damascus being in alliance against al-Ṣāliḥ, ruler of Egypt.

Al-Manṣūr (Ibrāhīm, son of al-Malik al-Mujāhid), prince of Ḥimṣ, now took the field with his troops and the armies of Aleppo and Damascus, and crossed the Euphrates to Sarūj and Edessa. He fell upon the Khwārizmians and routed them and captured all their baggage while they fled headlong to 'Ānah.

Al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād-al-Dīn became apprehensive of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn this year, and wrote to the Franks and concluded a treaty with them whereby they should help and assist him to war against the Sultan of Egypt. He would give them (in exchange) the citadels of Ṣafad and Shaqīf⁸ and their dependent lands, would divide with them Sidon and Tiberias and their dependencies, Jabal 'Āmilah,⁹ and the remainder of the coastal regions.

Al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, prince of Damascus, decided to invade Egypt when he learned of the arrest of the Ashrafi mamelukes, the household servants, the officers of the household troops and certain emirs, and that the rest of the Egyptian emirs were in dread of the Sultan. He therefore prepared for war, and sent to al-Manṣūr, prince of Ḥimṣ, to the Aleppans, and to the Franks, seeking their aid.

The prince of Damascus then allowed the Franks to enter Damascus and buy arms, and they purchased a considerable quantity of weapons and engines of war from the inhabitants

of the city. This action the Muslims greatly reprobated, and a body of pious men resorted to the doctors of divine law [*‘ulamā*] and demanded of them a judgment on the matter. The Shaykh ‘Izz-al-Dīn ibn-‘Abd-al-Salām then gave a decision according to the sacred law declaring the selling of arms to the Franks to be unlawful. In the Great Mosque of Damascus, intercessions for al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘il were removed from the *khutbah* and in their stead was said a prayer in which was said: “O God, confirm Thy people in the right way, by which Thou hast glorified Thy Saints, and abased Thine enemies, that we might thereby walk in Thy obedience and be withheld from rebellion against Thee.” This prayer the people chanted with high voice.

Al-Ṣāliḥ (Ismā‘il) was at this time absent from Damascus, but a letter came from him divesting Ibn-‘Abd-al-Salām of his office of *Khaṭīb*, and ordering his imprisonment, together with that of the Shaykh Abū-‘Amr ibn-al-Hājib, who also had reproved al-Ṣāliḥ. The two were cast into prison. When al-Ṣāliḥ returned to Damascus, he released them, but he compelled Ibn-‘Abd-al-Salām to keep to his house, making only religious judgments but on no account meeting with any person. Ibn-‘Abd-al-Salām sought leave to attend the Friday prayers, to receive a physician or barber when he needed them, and to visit the baths. To these requests al-Ṣāliḥ acceded. As *Khaṭīb* of Damascus, in the place of ‘Izz-al-Dīn ibn-‘Abd-al-Salām, the prince of Damascus appointed ‘Alam-al-Dīn Dāwūd ibn-‘Umar ibn-Yūsuf, son of the *Khaṭīb* of Bayt al-Ābār.¹⁰

Al-Ṣāliḥ (Ismā‘il) then issued forth from Damascus with his troops, and with those of Ḥimṣ, Aleppo, and others, marched until he came to encampment at the River al-‘Awjā.¹¹ There he received the report that al-Nāṣir Dāwūd was encamped in the Balqā’.¹² He marched thither, and fell upon al-Nāṣir and vanquished him, so that he fled to Karak. Al-Ṣāliḥ seized his heavy baggage, took a number of his officers prisoner, and returned to the ‘Awjā, having thus increased his fortune and multiplied his power. He sent demanding help of the Franks, promising to give them all that the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf had won to subjection. He then moved from the ‘Awjā and encamped at Tell al-‘Ajūl, where he tarried some days and then, being unable to pass into Egypt, returned to Damascus.

The reason for this was that, when al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn received word that al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il had marched from Damascus with the Franks, he despatched an army to meet him. The two armies converged, and when they were face to face the Syrian troops went over to the Egyptians and, joining ranks, fell upon the Franks, putting them to flight and taking innumerable prisoners. It was with these prisoners that the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn built the Citadel of al-Rawḍah and the Ṣāliḥi Colleges in Cairo.

This year peace was concluded with the Franks, and al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (Najm-al-Dīn) restored their freedom to the (Frankish) counts, knights, and private soldiers who were in Egypt.

In the month of Dhū'l-Qa'dah a conflict took place between the emirs of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (Najm-al-Dīn) Ayyūb, who formed the garrison in Gaza, and those of al-Jawād and al-Nāṣir. The troops of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ were defeated, as was Kamāl-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh. But al-Ṣāliḥ made peace with al-Nāṣir, who departed from Gaza after taking al-Jawād prisoner. (Earlier) in the month of Dhū'l-Qa'dah, al-Jawād had arrived at al-'Abbāsah, accompanied by (al-Ṣāliḥ),¹³ son of the prince of Ḥimṣ. Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn treated them graciously, but had not permitted them to enter Cairo. Al-Jawād had accordingly returned and sought refuge with al-Nāṣir, who had imprisoned him.

The Qāḍi 'Abd-al-Muhaymin was dismissed from his office of *Muḥtasib*¹⁴ of Cairo on the ninth of Muḥarram of this year, and replaced by the Qāḍi Sharaf-al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of the *Khaṭīb* 'Abbās, *Khaṭīb* of the Citadel.

On the fourteenth of this month [5th August], the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn commenced to build the bridge [*qanṭarah*] on the grand canal in the neighborhood of the Timber Merchant's Garden [*Bustān al-Khashshāb*]. It is known today as the Bridge of the Dam, outside the city of Miṣr.

On the sixteenth of the month the Sultan ordered the despatch of armaments,¹⁵ galleys,¹⁶ and fire-ships¹⁷ to the Red Sea for the invasion of the Yemen. He also sent a number of emirs and troops for the same purpose.

On the twenty-fifth of this month, five men descended by night through the glass windows of the Nafisi Shrine and stole

sixteen silver candelabra that were over the tomb. They were arrested in al-Fayyūm and brought (to Cairo) on the fourth of Ṣafar. One of them confessed that it was he who had entered by the glass windows of the dome, and stolen the candelabra. He thus exculpated his companions, and was hanged beside the shrine on the tenth of the month, being left so long on the gibbet that he became a skeleton.

On the twenty-seventh of the month of Rabī' al-Awwal [16th October] al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ appointed the Emir Badr-al-Dīn Bākhil governor of Alexandria, moving him from the governorship of Miṣr.

In the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir the Sultan nominated deputies to sit in his name in the Palace of Justice and remove injustices. For this purpose there sat Iftikhār-al-Dīn Yāqūt al-Jamālī, two upright witnesses, and a group of *faqīhs* who included: the Sharīf Shams-al-Dīn al-Urmawī, chief of the nobles, Qāḍī of the army, and a lecturer in the Naṣrīyah College in Miṣr; the Qāḍī Fakhr-al-Dīn ibn-al-Sakari; and the *faqīh* 'Izz-al-Dīn 'Abbās. Men hastened to the Palace of Justice from all directions to raise and unfold their wrongs. Thus the Sultan was relieved of men's petitioning in person before him, and this custom was adopted in Egypt.

In the month of Dhū- 'l-Ḥijjah, the Qāḍī Badr-al-Dīn (Abū- 'l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf)¹⁸ al-Sinjāri arrived by the way of the (Palestine) coast in Egypt. When he appeared before the Sultan, al-Ṣāliḥ received him with marked respect. The Qāḍī of all Egypt was then the Qāḍī Sharaf-al-Dīn Ibn-'Ayn-al-Dawlah al-Iskandari. The Sultan relieved him of his Qāḍiship of Miṣr and the southern part of Egypt, and granted it to the Qāḍī Badr-al-Dīn al-Sinjāri, leaving to Ibn-'Ayn-al-Dawlah the Qāḍiship of Cairo and the maritime (or northern) part of the land.

This year there appeared in the land of the Rūm a man who claimed prophetic powers. He was called al-Bābā [the Father], and was a Turcoman. He collected followers and induced them to make the declaration: "There is no deity but God, and al-Bābā is the messenger of God."¹⁹ The army of the Sultan of the Rūm took the field against them and gave them battle, four thousand men being killed between the two sides. Al-Bābā himself perished, and his faction dissolved.²⁰

The same year an ambassador of the king of the Tartars, Khāqān,²¹ arrived at the court of (al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Shihāb-al-Dīn Ghāzi ibn-al-ʿĀdil, ruler of) Mayyāfāriqīn, bringing a letter addressed to that prince and to the sovereigns of Islam. It was headed: "From the Regent of the Lord of the Skies, Ruler [*māsiḥ*] of the Surface of the Earth, King of the East and of the West, Qāqān."²² The ambassador addressed Shihāb-al-Dīn, prince of Mayyāfāriqīn, as follows: "The Qāqān has appointed you his Silāḥ Dār.²³ He commands you to destroy the walls of your city." To this Shihāb-al-Dīn replied: "I am but one of several kings, and my country is petty compared with the Rūm, Syria, and Egypt. Go therefore to the sovereigns of those lands, and as they act, so shall I."

On Friday, the eleventh of Dhū'l-Qa'dah [24th May], al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl ordained that the *khutbah* should be pronounced from the pulpits of Damascus in the name of the Sultan Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Kaykhusraw ibn-Kayqubād ibn-Kaykhusraw, sovereign of the Rūm; and this was done. At the same time, *dīnārs* and *dirhams* were distributed, and the occasion was a memorable one. The ambassador of the Rūm and the great men of the state were present, the *khutbah* was delivered in the name of the Sultan of the Rūm in the mosques of the city, and al-Ṣāliḥ showed every favor to the ambassador and invested him with a robe of honor.

The Year 639 (A.H.)

[12th July, 1241–30th June, 1242]

This year al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (Najm-al-Dīn) began the construction of the Ṣāliḥi colleges between the two citadels. Prices rose in Egypt, and an *irdabb* of wheat was sold at two *dīnārs* and a half. Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Maṭrūḥ came to Cairo by sea from Tripoli, and a number of couriers arrived in Egypt from al-Muẓaffar, prince of Ḥamāh.

On Sunday, the twenty-seventh of Rabī' al-Awwal [5th October, 1241], the whole orb of the sun was eclipsed, the heavens were darkened and the stars appeared, and the people lit their lamps in the daytime.

The Shaykh 'Izz-al-Dīn ibn-'Abd-al-Salām arrived in Egypt

this year, having been driven from Damascus by al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl. Al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn received him kindly, and installed him as *Khaṭīb* of the Mosque of 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣ in Miṣr. He appointed him Qāḍi of Miṣr and southern Egypt, on the Day of 'Arafah, in the room of the Chief Qāḍi Sharaf-al-Dīn ibn-'Ayn-al-Dawlah, after having written to that official, on Friday, the tenth of Rabī' al-Ākhir [18th October], a letter in his own hand which said: "Whereas Cairo is the capital of the empire, where dwell the officers of state and the troops, and whereas its governor is in exclusive charge of the Palace of Justice, now therefore we command that the Qāḍi of Cairo shall confine his authority to that city and its dependent districts, and to no other parts." And the Sultan thereupon assigned the Chief Qāḍiship of Miṣr and its dependent districts, which is the southern part of Egypt, to Badr-al-Dīn Abū-'l-Muḥāsin Yūsuf al-Sinjāri, known as the Qāḍi of Sinjār. When Ibn-'Ayn-al-Dawlah died, Badr-al-Sinjāri was established as Qāḍi of Cairo, and the Qāḍiship of Miṣr and the southern part of Egypt was given to Ibn-'Abd-al-Salām.

This year a large number of people visited Fakhr-al-Dīn Yūsuf, son of the Grand Shaykh, whom the Sultan had released from prison. This displeased the Sultan, who ordered him to keep to his house.

The Sultan was apprised this year that al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak, had entered into an alliance of war against him with al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl, prince of Damascus, with al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm, prince of Ḥimṣ, and with the people of Aleppo. He despatched Kamāl-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, at the head of an army (into Syria). Al-Nāṣir marched out against this emir and gave him battle in the district of Jerusalem. He took a number of his officers prisoner, and then released them, whereupon they returned to Cairo. It was also learned that on Wednesday, the twelfth of Ṣafar [22nd August], the army of al-Nāṣir Dāwūd fell upon the Emir 'Izz-al-Dīn Aybak, ruler of Ṣarkhad, who had encamped at al-Fawwār, and defeated him and captured his heavy baggage. He had with him the Emir Shams-al-Dīn Sharaf, known as "Seven Lunatics" [*al-sab'majānīn*], Shams-al-Dīn Abū-'l-'Alā al-Kurdiyān, and Sharaf-al-Dīn ibn-al-Šārim, lord of Tibnīn. The commander of the army of

al-Nāṣir was Sayf-al-Dīn ibn-Qilij, (assisted by) certain Ayyūbids of the Egyptian army.

This year the Khwārizmians approached Mosul, but (its ruler Badr-al-Dīn) Lu'lu came to terms with them, and ceded Nisibis to them. Al-Muẓaffar (Shihāb-al-Dīn) Ghāzi, son of al-'Ādil and prince of Mayyāfāriqīn, reached agreement with them. They then marched on Āmid. The army of Aleppo, commanded by al-Mu'azzam Fakhr-al-Dīn Tūrānshāh, son of Ṣālah-al-Dīn, issued forth and drove them back. They then ravaged the Mayyāfāriqīn country. Several engagements took place between the Khwārizmians and the Aleppan troops who then returned to Aleppo, while the Khwārizmians made an incursion on the rural districts of Mosul.

Al-Muẓaffar, prince of Ḥamāh, was stricken suddenly with paralysis in Sha'bān [4th February–4th March] of this year while seated. He lay prostrate for some days, neither moving nor speaking. He then awakened from his stupor, but his right side was powerless. Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (Najm-al-Dīn) sent to him from Egypt a physician named al-Nafīs, son of Ṭulayb the Christian. But his remedies gave no benefit, and the prince of Ḥamāh remained in that condition for years and months until he died.

On the fifteenth of Dhū'l-Qa'dah, the Emir Rukn al-Dīn al-Ṭūnbā²⁴ al-Hayjāwi set out from Cairo for Damascus. Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn had sent him to al-Nāṣir Dāwūd in the month of Ramaḍān to establish peace between that prince and al-Malik al-Jawād, on the understanding that they accepted the suzerainty of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn. But when he²⁵ arrived in Gaza, he fled to Damascus and took with him a part of the army. Al-Jawād went over to the Franks, and remained with them.

This year, al-Malik al-Manṣūr (Nūr-al-Dīn 'Umar ibn-'Alī Rasūl)²⁶ marched, in the month of Ramaḍān [5th March–3rd April], from the Yemen to Mecca at the head of a large army. The Egyptians who were there took flight, after setting fire to the government buildings so that all the weapons and other things within it were destroyed.

The Year 640 (A.H.)

[1st July, 1242–20th June, 1243]

In the month of Rabī' al-Awwal [29th August–27th September] of this year, intercessions for the Sultan of Rūm were removed from the *khutbah* in Damascus, and instead were said for al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn. On Friday, the fourth of Jumādā al-Ulā [30th October], the Franks entered Nablus, having come from Acre, and pillaged, slaughtered, and took captives. They carried off the *khaṭīb's* pulpit and left the city on the Sunday, after causing much destruction. On Saturday, the eighteenth of Muḥarram, the Sharīf 'Alā'-al-Dīn ibn-Hāshim, son of the Emir of Sīd from al-Dīwān,²⁷ arrived in Cairo. On the tenth of Rabī' al-Ākhir, the Sharīf died.

This year the Tartars reached Arzan al-Rūm,²⁸ and al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ghāzi (prince of Mayyāfāriqīn) fought the Khwārizmians.²⁹

This year Ḍayfah (Ṣafīyah) Khātūn, daughter of al-'Ādil Abū-Bakr ibn-Ayyūb, died on the night of Friday, the eleventh of Jumādā al-Ulā [6th November]. Her grandson al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, son of al-Zāhir Ghāzi,³⁰ became ruler of Aleppo after her. On the death of his grandmother, his government was managed by the Emir Shams-al-Dīn Lu'lu', the atabeg, the Emir Jamāl-al-Dīn Iqbāl (al-Aswad al-Khaṣi) al-Khatūnī, and the honored vizir Jamāl-al-Dīn al-Qifti. Iqbāl marched out of Aleppo with the army and fought the Khwārizmians, and then returned.

In this same year died the Caliph al-Mustanṣir billāh Abū-Ja'far al-Manṣūr ibn-al-Zāhir bi-Amr-Allāh Abū-Naṣr Muḥammad ibn-al-Nāṣir li-Dīn-Allāh Aḥmad al-'Abbāsi, Commander of the Faithful, early on the morning of Friday, ten days from the end of the month of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [14th December]. The cause of his death was that he had been bled by a poisoned lancet. The length of his caliphate was one month short of seventeen years. Others said that he died on the twenty-second of the same month [16th December], and that his term of office lasted fifteen years, four months, and five days. His age was fifty-one years, four months, and seven days. He was a firm

and just man. During his time, great constructions were executed in Baghdad, and the Mustanşiriyah College³¹ was built there. The Tartars menaced Baghdad during his reign, and he raised an army that was said to have exceeded even a hundred thousand men. He was succeeded in the caliphate by his son al-Musta'şim billāh Abū-Aḥmad 'Abd-Allāh. The great men of the state gave themselves to the service of the new Caliph, and counseled him to conserve money and allow the militia [*ajnad*] to collapse. He discharged many of the regular soldiers [*askar*], and made peace with the Tartars, sending sums of money to them.

This year some young servants of the Şāhib Mu'in-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh and vizir of al-Malik al-Şāliḥ (Najm-al-Dīn), built a structure on the roof of a mosque in Mişr for the use of his steward and in it placed the musical instruments of (his brother) 'Imād-al-Dīn. The Chief Qāḍi 'Izz-al-Dīn ibn-'Abd-al-Salām disapproved of this, and went with his sons and demolished the building and removed all that was on the roof. The Chief Qāḍi then bore witness against himself to the effect that he had suppressed the testimony of the vizir Mu'in-al-Dīn; and then he removed himself from his Qāḍiship. When he did this, al-Malik al-Şāliḥ replaced him in the Qāḍiship of Mişr by Şadr-al-Dīn Abū-Manşūr Mawhūb ibn-'Umar ibn-Mawhūb ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Jazari, the Shāfi'ite *faqih*, who had acted for Ibn-'Abd-al-Salām in giving judgments. This appointment was made on the twenty-third of Dhū'l-Qa'dah [14th May].

A pilgrimage from Baghdad arrived at Mecca this year, after the Iraq caravan had been stopped from going to Mecca throughout seven years.

The news of Mecca³²—may God Most High exalt it—was that the Sultan al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb had sent a thousand horsemen under the Sharīf Shīḥah ibn-Qāsim, Emir of Medina, in the year (six hundred and) thirty-seven. Al-Malik al-Manşūr Nūr-al-Dīn 'Umar ibn-'Ali ibn-Rasūl sent Ibn-al-Nuṣayri and the Sharīf Rājih from the Yemen to Mecca with a large army. The Sharīf Shīḥah then fled with his troops to Cairo. The Sultan al-Malik al-Şāliḥ then equipped him with an army with which he marched to Mecca in the year thirty-eight, and

there performed the pilgrimage with the people. Ibn-Rasūl thereupon despatched a considerable army from the Yemen. In consequence the Egyptian troops sought aid of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, and he sent to them the Emir Mubārīz-al-Dīn ‘Ali ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-Bartās and the Emir Majd-al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn-al-Turkmānī with 150 horsemen. When the Yemenite troops heard this, they established themselves at al-Sirrayn, and wrote to Ibn-Rasūl, to inform him of the matter. He marched himself with a large force on Mecca, and the Egyptians took flight before them, having burned the weapons and other materials in the Sultan’s palace in Mecca. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nūr-al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn-‘Ali ibn-Rasūl then entered Mecca, where he undertook the fast during the month of Ramaḍān in the year thirty-nine. He left as his viceroy in Mecca his mameluke Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Shallāḥ.

The Year 641 (A.H.)

[21st June, 1243–8th June, 1244]

This year the Tartars invaded the territory of the Rūm and defeated the Sultan Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Kaykhusraw ibn-Kayqubād ibn-Kaykhusraw ibn-Qilij Arslān, putting him to flight and subjugating the land of the Rūm, Khilāt, and Āmid. Ghiyāth-al-Dīn became their vassal, and paid them tribute. They also took Sīwās³³ and Qaysārīyah³⁴ by the sword, and compelled the princes of these two cities to pay them annually four hundred thousand *dīnārs*. Ghiyāth-al-Dīn then fled from the Tartars to Constantinople, and his son Rukn-al-Dīn, who was of tender years, reigned in his stead until he was killed.

This year communications were exchanged between al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb and his uncle al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl, prince of Damascus, and al-Manṣūr, prince of Ḥimṣ. It was proposed that Damascus and its dependencies should belong to al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl, and Egypt to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, and that the princes of Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāh, and Aleppo should retain their possessions. Further, the *khutbah* should be pronounced, and coinage struck in the name of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb throughout all these territories. Al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl should restore his liberty to al-Malik al-Mughīth Faṭḥ-al-Dīn ‘Umar, son of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-

al-Dīn, and release from his confinement in Baalbek the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn Abū-'Alī ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Abū-'Alī ibn-Bāshāk al-Hadhabānī, known as Ibn-Abū-'Alī. Finally al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl was to dispossess al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd of Karak.

When these terms were agreed on, the Khaṭīb Aṣīl-al-Dīn al-Is'irdi, the Sultan's *imām*, set out from Cairo with a party and journeyed to Damascus. The *khutbah* was said in the name of the Sultan (al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn) in the great mosque of Damascus and at Ḥimṣ. Al-Mughīth, son of the Sultan, was set at liberty and given a horse to ride before being returned to the citadel in order to complete the ceremony of making the covenant. The Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn was also released; he had been treated with great severity and placed in a dark dungeon. When he arrived in Damascus, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl invested him with a robe of honor. He then left for Egypt accompanied by the ambassador of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, by the ambassador of the prince of Ḥimṣ, the Qāḍi 'Imād-al-Dīn, son of al-Quṭb, Qāḍi of Ḥamāh, and by the ambassador of the prince of Aleppo. They came before al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn, but could not come to any agreement, and dissension broke out again between the princes.

Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak, then concerted with al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, prince of Damascus, to wage war against al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn. The Aleppan ambassador returned, but Ibn-al-Quṭb tarried in Cairo. Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd and al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl then sent ambassadors to the Franks, and compacted that the Franks should aid them against al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn while they in return surrendered Jerusalem. They (also) surrendered Tiberias and Ascalon, the citadels of which two cities the Franks restored. The Franks gained possession of the Dome of the Rock³⁵ in Jerusalem, and set wine bottles on the Rock and hung bells in the al-Aqṣā Mosque.

Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (Najm-al-Dīn) now marched out from Cairo, and encamped at Birkat al-Jubb. He remained there some time, and wrote to the Khwārizmians calling them to Egypt to fight the Syrians. The Khwārizmians thereupon set out from the east.

On the day of the Feast of Sacrifice [20th May], al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn removed the Chief Qāḍi Ṣadr-al-Dīn Mawhūb al-Jazari from his office, and appointed al-Afdal al-Khawnaji as Qāḍi of Miṣr and the southern part of Egypt.

This year al-Sarim . . . [lacuna] al-Mas'ūdi escaped from the Citadel of the Mount. He had blackened his face until he was as black as the Negro slave who entered his cell to feed him. But he was recaptured at Bilbīs and returned to his prison.

Also in this year Shihāb-al-Dīn Rayḥān, a servant of the Caliph, erected the Sharābi Ribāṭ [Monastery] in Mecca; he also built on 'Arafah.

The Year 642 (A.H.)

[9th June, 1244–28th May, 1245]

This year there arrived in Damascus a letter from Badr-al-Dīn Lu'lu', prince of Mosul, saying: "I have settled the amounts the citizens of Damascus should contribute toward resisting the Tartars. For the rich, ten *dirhams*; for those of middle fortune, five *dirhams*; and for the poor, one *dirham*." The Qāḍi Muḥyi-al-Dīn ibn-Zaki-al-Dīn read out the letter to the people, and signed the order to begin the collection of the money.

This year the Khwārizmians crossed the Euphrates. Their commanders were the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn Barakah Khān, Khān Baradi, Ṣārū Khān, and Kashlū Khān, and their numbers exceeded ten thousand fighting men. One part of the army marched to the Baalbek plain and the other to the Ghūṭah [fruitful surroundings of Damascus], ravaging, killing, and taking captives. The populations fled in panic before them, while al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il entrenched himself in Damascus, and assembled to him the troops who had already reached Gaza.³⁶ The Khwārizmians fell upon Jerusalem, and made strenuous use of the sword upon the Christians within the city. They exterminated the men, led away captive the women and children, destroyed the structures in the Church of the Resurrection, and ransacked the graves of the Christians and burned their bones.

They then marched on to Gaza, and laid siege to it. In the month of Ṣafar [9th July–6th August], they sent word to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn, informing him of their approach. He commanded them to remain at Gaza, promising them Syria and bestowing on their envoys robes of honor, horses, and money. Jamāl-al-Dīn Aqūsh al-Najībi and Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-

Maṭrūḥ took the road as the Sultan's ambassadors to the Khwārizmians. The Sultan despatched an army from Cairo under the command of the Emir Rukn-al-Dīn Baybars,³⁷ one of his most intimate mamelukes who had been with him while he was under restraint at Karak. He brought the army to Gaza. Joined with the Khwārizmians were a number of Qaymarites³⁸ who had come with them from the East. The Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn Abū-'Alī ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Abū-'Alī al-Hadhabāni (also) marched from Egypt with an army in order to garrison Nablus.

Al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl sent an army from Damascus under the command of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, prince of Ḥimṣ. Al-Manṣūr marched to Acre without his supply train, and collected the Franks who were to fight with him against the Egyptian forces. They advanced to Gaza, where they were joined by reinforcements sent by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak, under the command of al-Ẓāhir ibn-Sunqur al-Ḥalabi and al-Wazīri.

This muster encountered the Khwārizmians on the outskirts of Gaza. The Franks raised crosses over the Damascus troops and over the head of al-Manṣūr, prince of Ḥimṣ; and their priests made the sign of the cross, while bearing vessels of wine from which they gave their knights to drink. The Franks were on the right, the troops from Karak on the left, and in the center was al-Manṣūr, prince of Ḥimṣ. The Khwārizmians advanced with the Egyptian troops, and both sides became engaged in violent combat. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr was overwhelmed, al-Wazīri took to flight, and al-Ẓāhir was wounded and captured. The Khwārizmians surrounded the Franks, and lay on them with the sword, so slaughtering and taking captive that none escaped save those who took to their heels. The number of Frankish captives was eight hundred; and the number killed, both Frankish and Syrian, exceeded thirty thousand. The Khwārizmians possessed themselves of sums of money beyond calculation.³⁹ Al-Manṣūr escaped to Damascus with but a few.

The news of this happy event reached al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn on the fifteenth of Jumādā al-Ulā [19th October] and he commanded Cairo and Miṣr and their suburbs to be decorated, as well as the Citadels of the Mount and of the Isle of al-Rawḍah. The population showed great zeal in putting up

the decorations, and the good news was celebrated for several days. The Frankish prisoners and the heads of the slain arrived with al-Zāhir ibn-Sunqur and a number of emirs and leading personages. The Franks were put upon camels, their leaders on horses, and thus were paraded through the streets of Cairo. The day of their entry was a memorable occasion. The heads were hung over the gates of Cairo, and the prisons were filled with captives.

The Emir Baybars and the Emir Ibn-Abū-ʿAli led their armies to Ascalon and besieged it, but it was able to resist them because of the strong fortifications. Ibn-Abū-ʿAli then marched on Nablus,⁴⁰ while Baybars remained at Ascalon. The lieutenants of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn subjugated Gaza, the coast of Palestine, Jerusalem, Hebron, Bayt Jibrīl, and the Jordan Valley [al-Aghwār]. To al-Nāṣir Dāwūd there remained only Karak, al-Balqāʾ, Ṣalt, and ʿAjlūn.

News arrived (in Cairo) of the death of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn-Shāhanshāh ibn-Ayyūb, prince of Ḥamāh, on Saturday, the eighth of Jumādā al-Ulā [12th October]. (His cousin) al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (Najm-al-Dīn) grieved much for him. Then came word of the death of the Sultan's son al-Malik al-Mughīth ʿUmar, in the Citadel of Damascus, and Najm-al-Dīn's grief intensified, while his wrath against his uncle al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl became extreme. The *Khaṭīb* Zayn-al-Dīn Abū-l-Barakāt ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Mawhūb arrived in Cairo from Ḥamāh bearing the sword of al-Muẓaffar and presents from his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir-al-Dīn Muḥammad; this, when nine days had passed of the month of Shawwāl.

The Ṣāhib Muʿīn-al-Dīn al-Ḥasan, son of the Grand Shaykh, issued forth from Cairo at the head of an army, taking with him the imperial tent and the treasures. The Sultan appointed him as his deputy, and granted him leave to sit at the head of the table and to be mounted a horse in the style of sovereigns. The *tawāshi* Shihāb-al-Dīn Rashīd, master of the Sultan's household, was to serve him at table, and the *jāndār* emir and the chamberlains [*ḥujjāb*] were to stand in readiness before him in the manner they were accustomed to in serving the Sultan. The Sultan further wrote to the Khwārizmians to put themselves at the command of the Ṣāhib, who then moved from

Cairo with the army to Gaza. The Khwārizmians and the troops⁴¹ joined him, and he set forward to Baysān, where he tarried for a while, and then progressed to Damascus and laid siege to the city. There al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il and al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm, prince of Ḥimṣ, were in a state of defense, and the Khwārizmians ravaged the surrounding provinces.

Al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il then sent to the son of the Grand Shaykh a prayer-mat, a water ewer, and a pilgrim staff with the words: "It would beseem you more to be occupied with these rather than with warring against the princes." When the Ṣāḥib received all this, he sent to al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il a pair of cymbals, a flute, and a silk shirt, saying: "The prayer-mat, the water ewer, and the pilgrim staff suit me well; but for you the cymbals, the flute, and the shirt are more in keeping," and he continued the siege of Damascus.

The Caliph al-Musta'ṣim sent Muḥyi-al-Dīn ibn-al-Jawzi to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn bearing vestments of honor, namely a black turban, a gold-embroidered mantle, two golden gowns, a gold-encrusted sword, a golden collar, two silken banners, two horses, and a golden buckler. The Sultan donned the vestments of honor in accordance with custom. There was much talk in Egypt concerning the arrival of the envoy of the Caliph, and the lateness of his coming.⁴² Al-Ṣāliḥ . . . [lacuna] ibn-Sha'bān al-Irbili declared:

They announced that the messenger [*rasūl*] had arrived,
And they said that he intended never to leave Damascus.
In all the years that I have lived I have searched in vain
For a Muslim who could correctly recite the Traditions of
the Messenger [*rasūl*] of God.⁴³

This year the emir of the Banū-Marīn,⁴⁴ Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥaqq ibn-Maḥyū ibn-Abū-Bakr ibn-Ḥamāmah, was killed in war against the Almohade army. He was succeeded by his brother Abū-Yaḥya ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥaqq. Also in this year arrived the letter from (Badr-al-Dīn) Lu'lu', prince of Mosul, announcing the contribution to be made by Damascus for war against the Tartars. The Qāḍi Muḥyi-al-Dīn ibn-al-Zaki read out the letter according to custom.

On the eighth of Rabī' al-Awwal [14th August], the Caliph

appointed as vizir his master of the household [*ustadār*], Mu'ayyad-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-al-'Alqami, in the room of Nāṣir-al-Dīn Abū-'l-Azhar Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Ali ibn-al-Nāqid. The Tartars conquered Shahrāzūr⁴⁵ this year. The *irdabb* of wheat in Egypt reached the price of four hundred *nuqrah dirhams*.⁴⁶

The Year 643 (A.H.)

[29th May, 1245–18th May, 1246]

This year the son of the Grand Shaykh (Mu'īn-al-Dīn) made vigorous assault upon the garrison of Damascus, and reduced the city to sore straits. He burned Qaṣr Ḥajjāj⁴⁷ on the second of Muḥarram [30th May], discharged mangonels, and pressed the attack to the point of exhaustion. On the third of the month, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl burned a number of localities,⁴⁸ men's properties were pillaged, and great rigors ensued until the beginning of the month of Rabī' al-Awwal [27th July]. In this month al-Manṣūr, prince of Ḥimṣ, emerged from Damascus and had a talk with Barakah Khān, the commander of the Khwārizmians, concerning peace, after which he returned to Damascus. The vizir (of Damascus) Amīn-al-Dawlah Kamāl-al-Dīn Abū-'l-Ḥasan . . . [lacuna] ibn-Ghazāl, known as al-Sāmīri, sent to the Ṣāḥib Mu'īn-al-Dīn asking for safe conduct in order to meet with him. Th Ṣāḥib sent him a gown, a mantle, a turban, and a head-band, and these the vizir donned and issued forth by night, some days after the beginning of the month of Jumādā al-Ulā. He parleyed with the Ṣāḥib and then returned to Damascus. He came out another night and it was decided that al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl should surrender Damascus upon the following conditions. He and al-Manṣūr might leave the city with all their possessions, none of their adherents or anything belonging to them being molested. In exchange for Damascus, al-Ṣāliḥ should receive Baalbek, Buṣra, and its dependencies, and all the Sawād.⁴⁹ To al-Manṣūr should go Ḥimṣ, Palmyra, and al-Raḥbah. The vizir accepted these terms, and the Ṣāḥib Mu'īn-al-Dīn swore to abide by them. Al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl and al-Manṣūr then quitted Damascus.

The Ṣāḥib Mu'īn-al-Dīn made his entry into Damascus on

Monday, the eighth of Jumādā al-Ulā [1st October]. He forbade the Khwārizmians to enter the city, and set its affairs in excellent order. He wrote a patent enfeoffing the Khwārizmians with the coastal plain, and installed himself in the city. The *ṭawāshi* Shihāb-al-Dīn Rashīd received command of the Citadel, and there, and in the great mosque of Damascus, and throughout the dependent provinces of the city the *khutbah* was said in the name of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn. The Emir Sayf-al-Dīn 'Alī ibn-Qilij likewise delivered the fortress of 'Ajlūn to the officers of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and repaired to Damascus.

When the Sultan received tidings of these arrangements he censured the *ṭawāshi* Shihāb-al-Dīn and the emirs for allowing possession of Baalbek to al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il, and said: "Mu'in-al-Dīn had given his promise to him, but you gave no promise." He instructed that al-Rukn al-Hayjāwī⁵⁰ and the vizir Amīn-al-Dawlah al-Sāmīri be despatched to the Citadel of al-Rawḍah under guard. They were sent from Damascus to Egypt, and were confined in the Citadel of the Mount.

Then the Ṣāhib Mu'in-al-Dīn suffered illness and died in Damascus on the twenty-second of Ramaḍān [10th February]. The Sultan thereupon wrote to the Emir Husām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-'Alī al-Hadhabāni, who was then at Nablus, to go to Damascus and take over the city. Thither the emir journeyed and became the Sultan's deputy for Damascus, the *ṭawāshi* Rashīd remaining in the Citadel. The Sultan gave his liberty to the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Yūsuf, son of the Grand Shaykh, who had been confined to his house. He gave him a robe of honor, invested him with important powers, advanced him in precedence, and was prodigal in conferring benefits on him. He was the last surviving son of the Grand Shaykh.

Meanwhile, the Khwārizmians had conceived that the Sultan would divide the land between them when he should have vanquished his uncle al Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il. Therefore, when they were interdicted from Damascus, and found themselves on the coastal plain and other parts of Syria, they changed their designs and were of one mind to renounce obedience to the Sultan. Forthwith they marched on Dārāyyā⁵¹ and put it to sack. They wrote to the Emir Rukn-al-Dīn Baybars, who then was at Gaza with some excellent troops of the Egyptian

army, to persuade him to make one with them in common cause. The emir thereupon joined with them. They then communicated with al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak, who also came to an agreement with them, encamping beside them and joining with them and marrying one of their women. He returned to Karak and then brought under his dominion all that had belonged to the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-ʿAlī,⁵² namely Nablus, Jerusalem, Hebron, Bayt Jibrīl, and the Jordan Valley.

Al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl in consequence became alarmed, and wrote to the Khwārizmians and betook himself to them. They swore to assist him, and therewith laid siege to Damascus. The Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-ʿAlī defended the city with great capacity, while the Khwārizmians, with whom was al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, were most pertinacious in fighting and in pillaging the surrounding dependencies. They put Damascus in dire extremity, cutting off its supplies so that the commodities became extremely dear, a sack of wheat reaching a price of 1,800 silver *dirhams*. Many people died of hunger and a certain man sold a house valued at 10,000 *dirhams* for 1,500 *dirhams*, with which he bought a sack of wheat, this in reality costing him 10,000 *dirhams*.

An *uqīyah*⁵³ and a quarter of bread cost a *dirham*, and a *ratl* of meat seven *dirhams*. Then food became entirely lacking, and men ate cats, dogs, and even the dead. One man died in prison, and the other prisoners devoured him. Vast numbers perished of hunger and pestilence, and this calamitous state endured for three months. Whosoever passed by the mountain would curse the stench of corpses, for the people were unable to bury their dead. And in spite of all this they did not cease from lewdness and wine-bibbing.

Meanwhile al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn was employing every artifice and device (to deliver Damascus), and he continued to press al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm, prince of Ḥimṣ, until he embraced his cause. Similarly he made alliance with the Aleppans to wage war against the Khwārizmians. He himself then set out from Cairo with the Egyptian army and encamped at al-ʿAbbāsah. Hither came to him envoys of the Caliph, al-Malik . . . [lacuna] ibn-Wajh al-Sabʿ and Jamāl-al-Dīn

‘Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Muḥyi-al-Dīn (Abū-Muḥammad Yūsuf) ibn-al-Jawzi, at the end of the month of Shawwāl [19th March]. They brought with them a patent rule and the black tokens of honor,⁵⁴ these being a black turban, an outer gown, a golden collar, and a horse with gold caparisons. A pulpit was set up, and (Jamāl-al-Dīn ‘Abd-al-Raḥmān) Muḥyi-al-Dīn, the envoy of the Caliph, ascended it and rehearsed the patent of rule. This was in the imperial tent, and the Sultan remained on his feet until the envoy had ended his recital, when he rode a horse in the tokens of honor sent him by the Caliph. It was a memorable day. Tokens of honor had also arrived from the Caliph for the Ṣāḥib Mu‘īn-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, but he had ended his days, wherefore the Sultan enjoined that they should be bestowed on his brother Fakhr-al-Dīn Yūsuf, son of the Grand Shaykh, who donned them.

When the Khwārizmians were apprised of the departure of the Sultan from Egypt, and that al-Manṣūr, prince of Ḥims, was on the march with the Aleppan army, they removed from Damascus in order to face al-Manṣūr. Their departure brought great relief to the citizens of Damascus; supplies arrived to them and prices lowered again.

The Year 644 (A.H.)

[19th May, 1246–7th May, 1247]

This year al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb sent the Qāḍi Najm-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-Sālim al-Nabulsi, known as the son of the Qāḍi of Nablus, and who enjoyed a foremost position in the Sultan’s esteem, to his mameluke the Emir Rukn-al-Dīn Baybars. The Qāḍi did not cease to cajole and blandish the Emir until he abandoned the Khwārizmians and returned with the Qāḍi to Egypt. The Qāḍi was confined in the Citadel of the Mount, and that was the last to be heard of him.

This year the ravagings of the Khwārizmians in Syria became grievous, with their plundering of the land, their bloodshedding, and their violating of women. At last they confronted (al-Malik) al-Manṣūr (Ibrāhīm, prince of Ḥims) and the Aleppan army, which had been joined by many Arabs and Turkomans, auxiliaries of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn. The event took place

before Ḥimṣ on the first day of Muḥarram [19th May], or as some say, the eighth of that month. A great battle ensued in which the Khwārizmians took to shameful flight and which dissipated their power, for after it they had no significance. Their commander, Barakah Khān, was killed, he being in a state of intoxication, and many of them were taken prisoners. Some of those who escaped joined the Tartars, and others went to al-Balqā' and entered the service of al-Malik Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak. Al-Nāṣir had taken to wife one of them, and showed them particular regard. Their advent increased his power. Others of the Khwārizmians marched to Nablus and took possession of it. Some auxiliaries of theirs who also took flight reached Ḥarrān. Aybak al-Mu'azzami attained the fortress of Ṣarkhad, and there put himself into a state of defense.

Al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il turned to Aleppo with a number of the Khwārizmians; and al-Malik al-Nāṣir, prince of that city, gave him hospitality and showed him great regard. But the Khwārizmians who had come with al-Ṣāliḥ he imprisoned.

The good news of this rout (of the Khwārizmians) reached al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb in the month of Muḥarram, and Cairo and Miṣr and the two citadels were decorated.

The Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-'Alī al-Hadhabāni marched from Damascus and seized Baalbek without a struggle, in the month of Rajab [12th November–11th December].⁵⁵ Al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nūr-al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il, and his brother al-Malik al-Sa'id 'Abd-al-Malik were conveyed under guard to Egyptian territory and there imprisoned. Cairo was splendidly decorated because Baalbek had been taken, as was Miṣr. For the capture of Baalbek was more pleasing to the Sultan than the capture of Damascus, so great was his rage against his uncle, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il.

Peace was meantime made between the Sultan and al-Manṣūr, prince of Ḥimṣ, and al-Nāṣir, prince of Aleppo,⁵⁶ and an alliance achieved. The Sultan thereupon sent to Aleppo demanding the surrender to him of the person of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il, but this was not agreed to.

The Sultan despatched a large army, led by the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Yūsuf, son of the Grand Shaykh, and directed it against Karak. The Emir marched by Gaza, and fell upon the Khwāriz-

mians, with whom was al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak, in the neighborhood of al-Ṣalt. He defeated and scattered them, but al-Nāṣir escaped to Karak with a small following. The defeat at al-Ṣalt took place on the twenty-seventh of Rabī' al-Ākhir [11th September]. After burning the place, Fakhr-al-Dīn resumed his march and conquered all the territories belonging to al-Nāṣir and placed his deputies over them. He laid siege to Karak, devastating the land about it, and subjugated al-Balqā'. Al-Nāṣir was so weakened that he sought mercy. Fakhr-al-Dīn sent to him demanding the Khwārizmians who were in his camp, and al-Nāṣir sent these to Fakhr-al-Dīn who departed from Karak with the Khwārizmians in his service. He then invested Buṣra, and was about to capture it when he was struck with a sickness which brought him to the point of death. He was carried in a litter to Cairo, but the army remained until it mastered the town.

Al-Manṣūr (Ibrāhīm), prince of Ḥimṣ, arrived in Damascus in support of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (Najm-al-Dīn), but he sickened and died in the month of Ṣafar [18th June–16th July]. The Sultan grieved deeply for him, for he was expecting his arrival (in Cairo). He was succeeded in Ḥimṣ by his son al-Ashraf Muẓaffar-al-Dīn Mūsa.

This year al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn took possession of 'Ajlūn, transmitted to him by its ruler Sayf-al-Dīn Qilij on his death. In this year, too, the Sultan sent the Ṣāhib Jamāl-al-Dīn Abū-'l-Ḥasan Yaḥya ibn-ʿĪsa ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Maṭrūḥ to Damascus in the capacity of vizir and emir, and gave him the command of seventy horsemen in Damascus. He relieved the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-'Alī al-Hadhabāni of his governorship of Damascus, and appointed in his place the Emir Mujāhid-al-Dīn Ibrāhīm. He left the *tawāshi* Shihāb-al-Dīn Rashīd in his position in the Citadel. When Ibn-Maṭrūḥ entered Damascus, the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn left the city and took his way to Cairo. On coming before the Sultan, who was then in the Citadel of the Mount, his master made him vice-sultan of Egypt, and gave him residence in the Vizirial Lodge in Cairo.

In the month of Shawwāl [9th February–9th March], the Sultan set out with his army from the Citadel of the Mount for Damascus, leaving as his viceroy in Egypt the Emir Ḥusām-

al-Dīn Abū-ʿAli. He entered Damascus on the seventeenth of Dhū-l-Qaʿdah [26th March], his entry being a day of festival. He was liberal to the people, gave robes of honor to the notables, and bestowed alms on the inmates of colleges and convents, as well as on hermits, to the amount of forty thousand *dirhams*. After fifteen days, he passed on to Baalbek, where he set its affairs in order and distributed twenty thousand *dirhams* to like persons. Then he progressed to Buṣra, which his lieutenants had received from the Emir Shihāb-al-Dīn Ghāzi, lieutenant of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā-īl, and similarly disbursed twenty thousand *dirhams*. He sent the Emir Nāṣir-al-Dīn al-Qaymari and the Ṣāhib Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Maṭrūḥ to Ṣarkhad, which was in the hands of the Emir ʿIzz-al-Dīn Aybak al-Muʿazzami, and they continued to press him until he delivered up the city to them and departed thereon to Egypt.

In Jerusalem the Sultan distributed two thousand Egyptian *dinārs* as alms. He instructed that the walls of the city be measured, and its circumference was found to be six thousand Hashimite cubits.⁵⁷ He commanded that the yield from the crops of Jerusalem should be spent on the repair of the wall, and that if more money were needed, it should be brought from Egypt.

The Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, led an army to Tiberias, which he besieged until he took it from the Franks. He destroyed the forts that the Franks had restored and then marched on Ascalon and beset it until he captured it and destroyed its fortifications.

This year al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū-Bakr, son of al-Kāmil Muḥammad, was put to death by strangling in the citadel. Some said that he was strangled before this, and others that it occurred in the year 645. (The second statement)⁵⁸ is the surer. The cause of his death was as follows. He had been confined in the ʿĀfiyah Tower of the Citadel of the Mount, and when the Sultan decided to march to Syria he sent an officer to instruct al-ʿĀdil to repair to the fortress of Shawbak, to be confined there. But al-ʿĀdil refused, whereupon the Sultan sent someone to strangle him. The report of his death was spread, and then confirmed. His son al-Mughīth ʿUmar was conveyed to Shawbak and there confined. Al-ʿĀdil was buried outside the Victory

Gate, and none dared weep for him or invoke his memory. He left one son, al-Malik al-Mughīth 'Umar, who at first was placed in Cairo with his aunts and later removed to Shawbak. At the time of his death al-Ādil was around thirty years of age, and he had been a prisoner about eight years.

The Year 645 (A.H.)

[8th May, 1247–25th April, 1248]

This year (the Sultan) al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ returned from Damascus to Egypt after having captured Ascalon and dismantled it in the month of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [3rd October–31st October], and after also having taken possession of Bārizīn, a dependency of Ḥamāh. While he was in the (Sinai) desert on his way back to Egypt he was afflicted with a pain in his throat which brought him near to death. But he recovered, and entered the Citadel in good health. The two cities and the two citadels were decorated in rejoicing for him.

The Sultan wrote to the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, to withdraw from the territory held by the Franks on the coastal plain to Damascus. The emir accordingly took the road with his troops to Damascus, where he behaved with prodigality toward the emirs and others, and bestowed on them vestments of honor.

Ascalon was taken by assault by the Sultan's troops on Thursday, the twenty-second of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [24th October].

This year the lieutenants of the Sultan took possession of al-Ṣubaybah⁵⁹ citadel.

The *ṭawāshi* Shujā'-al-Dīn Murshid al-Manṣūri and the Emir Mujāhid-al-Dīn, the *jāndār* emir, arrived in Aleppo this year from Ḥamāh to fetch the noble lady 'Uṣmat al-Dunya wa-'l-Dīn 'Ā'ishah Khātūn, daughter of al-Malik al-'Azīz Muḥammad, son of al-Zāhir Ghāzi, son of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-Ayyūb. With them went her mother, the honored lady Fāṭimah Khātūn, daughter of al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad, son of al-Ādil Abū-Bakr ibn-Ayyūb, in the month of Ramaḍān. The princess departed in splendid style, in a litter draped in gold-embroidered silk cloths and surmounted with jewels. She was met by her husband, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, prince of Ḥamāh.

This year the people took possession of al-Kafūr Gardens in Cairo, and built dwellings in it. And in this year the Emir 'Izz-al-Dīn Aybak al-Mu'azzami was arrested in Damascus and conducted under guard to Cairo and there confined in the Dār Şawāb.⁶⁰ His son then testified that the sums of money his father had brought from Şarkhad filled eighty saddlebags, with which he had been entrusted. When 'Izz-al-Dīn heard of this testimony he fell upon the ground and cried: "This is the end of my time on earth." After that he never spoke again until he died.

The Sultan moved from the Citadel of the Mount this year and took up residence in his palace at Ushmūm-Ṭannāḥ. Al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū-Bakr, son of Muḥammad al-Kāmil, was strangled on the twelfth of Shawwāl [9th February].

The Year 646 (A.H.)

[26th April, 1248–15th April, 1249]

This year the Sultan wrote from Ushmūm-Ṭannāḥ to his viceroy in Egypt, the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-'Ali, instructing him to move with the household troops⁶¹ and the imperial tent to Damascus. In his place as viceroy in Cairo the Sultan designated the Emir al-Jawād Jamāl-al-Dīn Abū-'l-Faṭḥ Mūsā ibn-Yaghmur ibn-Jaldak. Ḥusām-al-Dīn set forward and billeted in the forts which the Sultan al-Şālih (Najm-al-Dīn) had built and made into a city on the high road at the beginning of the sand desert and named al-Şālihīyah.⁶² Ḥusām-al-Dīn tarried some time at this place as the representative of the Sultan, purposing then to join al-Malik al-Ashraf, prince of Ḥimş.

Meantime news had reached al-Ashraf that the Aleppan army, with the Emir Shams-al-Dīn Lu'lu' (al-Amīni) and al-Malik al-Şālih Ismā'il, was on the march to capture Ḥimş. Ḥusām-al-Dīn did not reach al-Ashraf in time, and he [i.e., al-Ashraf] surrendered Ḥimş. The city went to al-Nāşir, prince of Aleppo, and al-Ashraf was indemnified for it by Tell Bāşir.

When report of this reached the Sultan, he returned from Ushmūm-Ṭannāḥ to Cairo, whence he moved to his army at Şālihīyah. He traveled in a litter, being sick. The cause of this was a swollen buttock, which had become so bad that a

fistula had formed and he had been afflicted with a cough in the chest.⁶³ But his resolution was strong, and he did not lower his spirits. He took up his march to Damascus and lodged in the citadel.

He next sent the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, with emirs and troops among whom was the Emir Ibn-Abū-'Alī al-Hadhabānī, to Ḥimṣ. They besieged the city and bombarded it with a mangonel whose stone missile weighed 140 *ratls*. Besides this, there were another thirteen mangonels. The emir had employed the people to transport these mangonels from Damascus, and the cost of the hauling of each part, the value of which was about twenty *dirhams*, reached a thousand *dirhams*, for the period was the difficult one of winter. The emir prolonged the siege until the Shaykh Najm-al-Dīn al-Bādārā'i arrived from Baghdad as an envoy of the Caliph (al-Musta'ṣim billāh) with the mission of making peace between the Aleppans and the Sultan. Peace was established, and the (Egyptian) army withdrew from Ḥimṣ, after having been on the point of capturing it.

Meanwhile the Shaykh Shams-al-Dīn al-Khusruwashāhi arrived from Aleppo and proposed to the Sultan on behalf of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak, that he should deliver Karak to him in return for Shawbak. The Sultan agreed, and officers set out to take possession of Karak, but al-Nāṣir retracted on account of what he had heard about the severity of the illness of the Sultan.

The Franks took the field this year for the subjugation of Egypt. The Sultan took his departure from Damascus in a litter and journeyed to the (Jordan) Valley. The Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-'Alī arrived in Cairo to act as viceroy there, and the Emir Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Yaghmūr was summoned from Cairo to represent the Sultan in Damascus. The Ṣāhib Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Maṭrūh was relieved of his functions in Damascus, and the *ṭawāshi* Shihāb-al-Dīn Rashīd of his command of the citadel of Damascus. Their powers were confided to the Emir Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Yaghmūr.

This year the Ḥusayni Shrine in Cairo was burned, as also was the eastern minaret of the grand mosque of Damascus. The Chief Qāḍi Afdal-al-Dīn al-Khawanji died in the month of

Ramadhān and was succeeded by his son, the Chief Qāḍi Jamāl-al-Dīn Yaḥya.

Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Shihāb-al-Dīn Ghāza, son of al-ʿĀdil Abū-Bakr ibn-Ayyūb, prince of Ḓdessa, died this year. His son al-Kāmil Muḥammad reigned after him in Edessa and Mayyāfāriqīn.

This year al-Manṣūr Nūr-al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn-ʿAli ibn-Rasūl, sovereign of the Yemen, divested the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn ibn-al-Shallāḥ of his governorship of Mecca and its dependencies. He appointed in his stead Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-al-Musayyab on the condition that he yearly send the Yemenite ruler a fixed sum of money and one hundred mares. Ibn-al-Musayyab accordingly proceeded to Mecca, whence the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn departed. Ibn-al-Musayyab embarked on a pernicious course. He restored the taxes and imposts [*jibāyāt wa makūs*] in Mecca, impounded the alms that were received from the Yemen, and seized into his hands the monies in Mecca that belonged to the Sultan. He built a fortress at Nakhlah, caused the (tribe of) Hadhayl to swear allegiance to him, and refused disbursement to the army.⁶⁴ The Sharīf Abū-Saʿd ibn-ʿAli ibn Qatādah fell upon him and put him in irons and seized his monies. To the people of the sacred precincts of Mecca the Sharīf said: "I have acted thus with him only because I learned of a certainty that he proposed to flee to Iraq with the money. I myself am but a slave of our master the Sultan, and the monies, horses, and military equipment are in my care only until his commands are received." Only a few days passed, and word arrived of the death of the Sultan Nūr-al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn-Rasūl.

The Year 647 (A.H.)

[16th April, 1249–4th April, 1250]

This year the Sultan (al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn) set out from Damascus, sick and in a litter, when he heard that the Franks were on the move. He encamped at Ushmūm-Ṭannāḥ in the month of Muḥarram [16th April–15th May]. At Damietta he collected a great quantity of provisions and munitions, and sent instructions to the Emir Husam-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-ʿAli, his viceroy in Cairo, to make ready the warships [*shawāni*] that

were in the shipyard of Miṣr. At once the emir commenced doing this, and despatched the ships one after the other. The Sultan also commanded the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, to encamp on the shores of Damietta⁶⁵ with the army, so that he might confront the Franks if they advanced. Fakhr-al-Dīn thereupon set forward with the army and encamped on the shores opposite Damietta, the Nile lying between him and that city.

The Sultan himself could not move on account of his illness, and criers proclaimed in Miṣr: "Whosoever has any claims upon the Sultan let him present himself and take his rights." The people therewith came forward and obtained their dues.

At the second hour of Friday, nine days remaining to the end of Ṣafar [4th June], the vessels of the Frankish fleet arrived. A great army was assembled in them under the command of Raydāfrans, known as "The Frenchman" [*al-Fransis*]. His name was Louis, son of Louis, and "Raydāfrans" is a term in the language of the Franks signifying "King of the Franks." They had been joined by all the Franks who occupied the coastal plain, and they cast anchor in the seas facing the Muslims. The Frankish King sent a letter to the Sultan which, after some formula of their unbelief, went on to say: "It is not unknown to you that I am the protector of the Christian peoples. Likewise I recognize you as the protector of the Mohammedan peoples. There is no cause to fear you, since the (Muslim) inhabitants of the islands of Andalusia pay us tribute and send us gifts. We drive them as we drive cattle, we kill their men and make widows of their women, we take their girls and boys captive, and we empty the land of them. But I have made enough manifest to you, and give you in conclusion some counsel. If you swore a solemn oath of allegiance to me, coming before me surrounded by priests and monks and bearing in my presence candles as a token of your submission to the Cross, that should not deter me from advancing upon you and fighting you in your proudest regions. If the land should go to me, what a gift shall fall into my hand. But if to you, and I am conquered, then your lofty arm shall stretch out against me. I have told you and warned you that the soldiers that have come hither under my obedience

fill the mountains and the plains, their numbers being as those of the pebbles on the shore, and they will descend upon you with the swords of Fate."

When this letter reached the Sultan and it had been read to him, he was overcome; tears flowed from his eyes and he exclaimed: "We belong to God, and to Him we shall return." He replied by the hand of the Qāḍi Bahā'al-Dīn Zuhayr Muḥammad, Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs [*Kātib al-Inshā'*]; and his letter, after the *Bismillāh*⁶⁶ and invocations for our lord Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, and for his family and companions, said: "Your letter has arrived, menacing me with the size of your army and the number of your heroes. But we are masters of the sword. No wing of our army has been destroyed but we have renewed it, and no oppressor has arisen but we have crushed him. If your eyes could see, O heedless one, the edge of our swords and the mightiness of our warrings, our conquests from you of forts and coasts, our devastations of your lands far and near, you then would bite your fingers in regret, and all your courage would of no doubt forsake you. For the day's beginning shall be ours, and its ending against you. There all your thoughts will be unhappy, and they who act unjustly shall know hereafter with what treatment they shall be treated.⁶⁷ When you have read the letter, ponder the first words of the Sūrah of 'The Bee': 'That which God hath ordained shall come to pass. Seek not therefore to hasten it.'⁶⁸ Likewise consider the last words of the Sūrah 'Ṣād': 'And ye will come in time to know his message.'⁶⁹ We return to the words of God—Blessed and Exalted—for He is the truest of those who speak: 'How often hath the small platoon defeated the big by God's will. God is with the patient.'⁷⁰ The sages declare that the oppressor shall be cast down. Your oppression will prostrate you, and calamity will overcome you. Salutations."

On the Saturday [5th June, 1249], the Franks disembarked on the shores where lay the Muslim army and set up a red tent for the king of the Franks. The Muslims gave them battle and that day the Emir Najm-al-Dīn . . . [lacuna], son of the Shaykh of Islām, was slain in God's cause. He was a

pious man whom al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd had assigned to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn to bear him company when he was in prison at Karak. Another who was slain in the service of God was the Emir Ṣārim-al-Dīn Izbak al-Wazīrī. When night fell, the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Yūsuf, son of the Grand Shaykh, moved with his troops and crossed the bridge⁷¹ to the east bank (of the Nile) on which stood the city of Damietta. He thus left the west bank to the Franks. He then marched his troops to Ushmūm-Ṭannāḥ.

When the citizens of Damietta observed the departure of the army, they left the city and marched through the night with dragging steps, leaving not a soul in the city, which was quite destitute of people. They took flight to Ushmūm with the army, bare of feet and without clothes, hungry and wretched, and those of them with children and women sore perplexed. They bent their way to Cairo, but men robbed them on the way, and nothing remained to them to sustain life. This deed of the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn was adjudged to be the most shameful in his dishonor. For when, in the reign of al-Malik al-Kāmil, Damietta had been besieged by the Franks, there had been less munitions and provisions than there were on this occasion. Despite this, the Franks had been unable to capture the city save after a year's siege, when its citizens were exhausted with disease and sickness. This time, furthermore, there were present tribesmen of the bold Banū Kinānah; but this availed nothing.

On the morning of Sunday, seven days remaining to the end of the month of Ṣafar [6th of June], the Franks advanced on Damietta. Perceiving its gates to be open and with no one defending them, they feared a stratagem, and suspended their approach until it was observed that the inhabitants had fled and abandoned the city. Thus they entered Damietta without effort and without the trouble of a siege, and possessed themselves of all within it, the engines of war, vast quantities of weapons, many supplies, victuals, provisions, munitions, sums of money, furnitures, and the like, all of the best, and quite gratuitous.

When intelligence of these events reached Cairo and Miṣr, the people were filled with a great dismay. They despaired

that the faith of Islam would remain in the land of Egypt, since the Franks had captured Damietta and the (Muslim) army had fled, while the Franks had been strengthened by their acquisition of money, provisions, and weapons, and a powerful fortress which could not be taken by force. And with all this was the grave sickness of the Sultan, and his inability to move.

When the troops (of Fakhr-al-Dīn) arrived at Ushmūm, together with the inhabitants of Damietta, the Sultan was seized with a violent rage against the Banū Kinānah and commanded that they be hanged. "What is our guilt, when all the soldiers of the Sultan, and his officers, took flight and burned the arsenal [*zardakhānāh*]? What could we ourselves have done?" they cried. Yet they were hanged because they had quitted the city without leave and so allowed the Franks to seize it. The number of emirs of the Banū Kinānah who were hanged was more than fifty. Among them was a venerable emir, the father of a handsome son, who implored: "By Allah, hang me before my son!" "No," replied the Sultan. "Rather hang the youth before his father"; and the son was therewith hanged, and his father after him. The Sultan had first asked of the jurists a decision on the sacred law (in the matter), and they had decided that execution was the just sentence.

The Sultan was deeply incensed with the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, and demanded: "Could you not stand one hour before the Franks? Not one of you was killed save our guest the Shaykh Najm-al-Dīn." The occasion would only allow patience and connivance, and all indulged in reviling the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn. But many of the emirs and others apprehended the severity of the Sultan, and purposed to kill him. Yet the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn counseled them to be patient until the condition of the Sultan became clear: "For he is at his extremity. Should he die, we are relieved of him; if not he is yet in your power."

When the events we have related had taken place, the Sultan ordered a move to al-Manṣūrah. He was conveyed in a warship [*harraqah*] and brought to the fortress of al-Manṣūrah, on the Nile, on Tuesday, five days remaining of

the month of Ṣafar [4th June]. Every soldier was put to the repair of the habitations in al-Manṣūrah, markets were set up there, and its walls commanding the Nile were restored and covered with palisades. The Miṣr warships [*shawāni*] arrived with full supplies and infantry, and irregulars [*ghuzāt*] and all manner of men who wished to make holy war arrived from all directions. A great number of Bedouin Arabs came too and commenced to raid the Franks and to harass them. Meanwhile the Franks fortified the walls of Damietta, and filled them with fighting men.

On Tuesday, the last day of Rabī' al-Awwal [13th July], there arrived in Cairo thirty-six Frankish prisoners whom the Arabs had snatched, and among them were two knights. On the fifth of Rabī' al-Ākhir [18th July], thirty-seven prisoners arrived, on the seventh, twenty-two, and on the sixteenth, forty-five, among whom were three knights.

When the garrison of Damascus heard that the Franks had captured Damietta, they issued forth from the city and took Sidon from the Franks after laying siege to it and engaging in fighting. Report of this reached (Cairo) five days from the end of Rabī' al-Ākhir [6th August], and the people rejoiced thereat. Meanwhile, Frankish prisoners were constantly arriving in Cairo, and on the eighteenth of Jumādā al-Ulā [29th August] fifty of them were brought to the city. Yet all the time the Sultan's sickness increased, and his strength so declined that the physicians despaired of his recovery and restoration to health. For two maladies were combined in him, namely a fistulous wound in his buttock and consumption.

Meanwhile, when affairs went ill with al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak, he appointed his son al-Malik al-Mu'azzam (Sharaf-al-Dīn) 'Isā in his place and, taking his jewels with him, set out across the desert to Aleppo, there to seek the protection of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, son of al-Malik al-'Azīz. This prince gave him residence, and received him with regard. Al-Nāṣir despatched his jewels to the Caliph al-Musta'ṣim billāh that they might be in safe deposit with him. The Caliph received them, and wrote to al-Nāṣir that he had done so. By this action al-Nāṣir intended that the jewels should be secure against his claiming them when the need arose.⁷² Their value exceeded 100,000 *dīnārs*.

The (other) sons of al-Nāṣir (al-Malik al-Zāhir and al-Malik al-Amjad Ḥasan) were greatly incensed with their father since he had advanced al-Mu'azzam over them. They seized that prince and took possession of Karak. Al-Malik al-Zāhir Shādi—he was the elder—remained in Karak, and al-Malik al-Amjad Ḥasan repaired to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn, arriving at the camp at al-Manṣūrah on Saturday, nine days having passed of the month of Jumādā al-Ākhirah. He informed the Sultan that he and his brother al-Zāhir had taken Karak for him, and requested of him that he grant them fiefs in Egypt. The Sultan received him with honor and bestowed on him a large sum of money. He sent the *tawāshi* Badr-al-Dīn al-Ṣawābi to Karak to be his lieutenant there, and of Shawbak. Badr-al-Dīn in due course took possession of these places. All the sons of al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, and his brothers, al-Malik al-Qāhir and al-Malik al-Mughīth, with all their wives and families the *tawāshi* sent to the camp (at al-Manṣūrah). The Sultan gave them excellent fiefs, and assigned them pensions. The sons of al-Nāṣir he placed on the west bank (of the Nile) opposite al-Manṣūrah. The lieutenant of the Sultan took possession of Karak on Monday, twelve days remaining of the month of Jumādā al-Ākhirah. The Sultan rejoiced greatly at the taking of Karak, and by his command Cairo and Miṣr were decorated and drums were beaten in the two citadels. He sent to Karak a million Egyptian *dīnārs*, and jewels and munitions and weapons, together with many other things that he commanded should be taken.⁷³

On the thirteenth of Rajab [22nd October] there arrived in Cairo forty-seven Frankish prisoners as well as eleven of their knights. Some days later the Muslims captured a decked ship [*musattah*] off Nastarāwah⁷⁴ that contained fighting men.

On the night of Monday, in the middle of the month of Sha'bān [24th November], the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ died at al-Manṣūrah, while confronting the Franks, at the age of forty-four years. He had designated his son (al-Malik al-Mu'azzam) Tūrānshāh as his successor, and had bound to Tūrānshāh by oath Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, and Muḥsim the *tawāshi* as well as others in whom he had trust. Also, before dying, he had put his hand to ten thousand *'alāmahs*⁷⁵ which would serve for use on documents in order to conceal his death until his son Tūrānshāh should come from Ḥiṣn Kayfa. His

mother had been slave-born, and her name was Ward al-Muna. His reign in Egypt had lasted ten years less fifty days. His corpse was washed by one of the physicians who had had care of him, so that his death might be hidden, and was conveyed in a coffin to the fortress of the Isle of Rawḍah. Thus was his end kept secret and not divulged until the twenty-second of Ramaḍān [29th December], some time after which he was removed to his tomb beside the Ṣalāḥīyah colleges in Cairo.

It was al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ who established the Baḥri Mamelukes in Egypt. For, as earlier related, after what befell him on the night when the throne was lost to him by the defection of the Kurds and others of his soldiers and only the mamelukes stood firm to him, he conceived a great regard for the mamelukes. When, therefore, he gained the throne of Egypt, he bought many mamelukes and made them the strongest part of his army. He arrested the emirs (of his father and his brother and confined them and deprived them of their apanages)⁷⁶ and gave the emirdoms to the mamelukes. They became his intimates and the guards of his tent. He named them Baḥris because they dwelled with him in the fortress of the Isle of Rawḍah on the *baḥr* [waters] of the Nile.

Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ was a courageous and resolute king, but he was much dreaded because of his great severity and his haughty disposition, combined with a proud spirit and high ambition. He was highly decorous, chaste and innocent of obscenity, preserving his tongue from grossness of language, and shunning ribaldry and trifling. He was extremely grave, and compelled silence, so that when he came out from his *ḥarīm* to his mamelukes they were seized with trembling at the sight of him, being in terror of him, and not one of them remained beside the other. When he sat with his companions he held silence, stirred by no motions, unmoving. Those who sat with him were as though they had birds on their heads. If he spoke to one of his close circle, his words were few, and his gravity extreme. And those words were reserved for great affairs, to take counsel or to give commands in matters of moment. None would ever trespass upon his discourse, and none would dare speak in his presence save in making response. Never was it known that one of his circle ever opened conversation in

his presence, or ventured to intercede for any man, or to give counsel or offer advice, save when the matter was opened by the Sultan. And when he went apart, no one might approach him. Documents were taken to him by slaves for his signing, and the slaves withdrew with them to the Epistolary Secretary [*Kātib al-Inshā'*]. No officer of state might deal himself with any matter, but had to refer it to him by correspondence through a slave. With this acuteness and aloofness, he never looked the person to whom he was talking in the eye, because of his shyness and bashfulness. Nor was a foul expression ever heard from him against any of his slaves, and the most he would say, if reproaching anyone, was "Disobedient one," and he would not go beyond that term. He had no traffic with women other than his wife and his concubines.

Throughout his reign, the land enjoyed security and tranquillity, and the roads were safely traversed. Yet he was of great haughtiness and excessive dignity, bearing them to such a point that when his son al-Malik al-Mughīth 'Umar was imprisoned by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl he neither asked concerning him nor sought his freedom, so that the prince died in prison. He loved to amass wealth, and so oppressed the mother of his (half) brother, al-Malik al-'Ādil, that he extracted from her great sums of money and precious jewels.

He murdered his brother al-Malik al-'Ādil, and from that moment life brought him no profit or enjoyment. He was stricken with sickness, and the Franks beset him. He imprisoned all the emirs of the state and seized their wealth and goods. More than five thousand souls expired in his prisons, not counting the Ashrafis who were killed or drowned in the Nile. Moreover, he had no love for learning or the reading of books, but he used to allocate stipends and daily provisions to men of learning and piety without having intercourse with them. Nor indeed did he have intercourse with others, such was his predilection for solitude and his desire to be alone, combined with his addiction to silence and his constant gravity and calm.

He greatly loved building, and himself engaged in construction, erecting buildings in Egypt as no other Ayyūbid prince had done. He built the Citadel of the Isle of Rawḍah, opposite Fustāt [Old Cairo], spending on it huge sums, and destroying

a church there that belonged to the Jacobite Christians. He installed in this citadel a thousand Turkish mamelukes, or as some say, eight hundred, and called them Baḥris. The river at that time did not wholly encompass al-Rawḍah, but ships were continuously sunk and stones thrown between al-Jīzah and al-Rawḍah⁷⁷ until, within a year, the water encircled the island. Al-Šāliḥ built a bridge between Miṣr and al-Rawḍah, over which the emirs and others crossed when they came to his service. But no one could pass over this bridge on horseback, out of respect to the Sultan. This citadel was the most splendid of the structures erected by the (Egyptian) rulers. He also built, along the Nile and in the neighborhood of al-Lūq, palaces of extreme magnificence, placing them beside the open ground on which he played ball,⁷⁸ a pastime to which he was passionately addicted. He further built a vast palace between Cairo and Miṣr and called it al-Kabsh. It stood on the hill near the Ibn-Ṭulūn Mosque. And he built a palace near al-‘Alāqimah⁷⁹ on the high-road (to Palestine) raising round it a town which he named al-Šālahīyah, with a mosque and a marketplace, that it might serve as a base for the troops at the beginning of the desert between Egypt and Syria.⁸⁰

He had as sons: al-Malik al-Mughīth (Fath-al-Dīn) ‘Umar, the eldest, who died in prison in the citadel of Damascus; al-Malik al-Mu‘aẓẓam (Ghiyāth-al-Dīn) Tūrānshāh, who ruled Egypt after him; and al-Malik al-Qāhir, who also died in his lifetime. He had another son from Shajar al-Durr whom he named Khalīl and who died very young.

When his sickness from the fistulous wound prolonged itself and the orifice became inflamed, while the wound extended to his right thigh, he did his utmost to cure it. But then he was afflicted with consumption, without his being aware thereof. The Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-‘Alī in Cairo received a letter from him saying: “The wound has healed, and the suppuration has dried up (and I can do everything save ride and play polo⁸¹). Rejoice therefore at this good news.” But in truth the wound had not dried up save because there was no more substance to consume, and his sickness increased thereafter until he died.

It was said that he designated no one after him as his suc-

cessor, and that, on the contrary, he had declared to the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-'Alī: "When I die, confide the land to no one but the Caliph al-Musta'ṣim billāh, that he might deal with it according to his idea." For he knew the foolishness of his son (Tūrānshāh).

CHAPTER 8

The Regency of Shajar al-Durr, Wife of al-Ṣāliḥ, and the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn

When the Sultan died, his wife, Shajar al-Durr, sent for the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn, son of the Grand Shaykh, and the *ṭawāshi* Jamāl-al-Dīn Muḥsin. The *ṭawāshi* had been closest of all men to the Sultan, and held authority over his mamelukes and retinue. She apprised them of the death of the Sultan, and enjoined them to keep it secret for fear of the Franks. The Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn was wise and resourceful, able in the art of government, liberal, and loved by the people. These two officers agreed with Shajar al-Durr to govern the empire until such time as al-Malik al-Muʿazzam Tūrānshāh should arrive. Shajar al-Durr also summoned the emirs who were in the camp and said to them: "The Sultan had decreed that you give oath to him and to his son, al-Malik al-Muʿazzam Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Tūrānshāh, prince of Ḥiṣn Kayfa, as successor to the throne, and to the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn Yūsuf, son of the Grand Shaykh, as commander of the army, as atabeg, and as governor of the kingdom." All the emirs replied: "To hear is to obey," believing that the Sultan yet lived, and all gave oath, as did all the soldiers, and all the mamelukes of the Sultan.

A rescript, as coming from the tongue of the Sultan, directed the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-ʿAlī al-Hadhabāni, who was in Cairo, to administer the oath to the officers of state and to the troops in Cairo. The Chief Qāḍi, Badr-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-al-Ḥasan, Qāḍi of Sinjār, and the Qāḍi Bahāʾ-al-Dīn Zuhayr ibn-Muḥammad, secretary of the diplomatic bureau,¹ whom al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ had banished for something for which he blamed him, came both to the Vizirial Lodge and administered the oath to the dignitaries as mentioned above. This took place on Thursday, the eighteenth of Shaʿbān. The Qāḍi Bahāʾ-

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al-Dīn Zuhayr was then called from Cairo to the camp at al-Manṣūrah.

The Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn meanwhile had assumed the control of the kingdom. He distributed the land in fiefs, granting patents to the holders, and he restored Bahā'-al-Dīn Zuhayr to his office. At the same time, letters were arriving from the camp bearing the '*alāmah*² of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, said to be written in the hand of a slave called Suhayl. All who saw it did not doubt that it was the hand of the Sultan. This device succeeded for a time with the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn, the deputy of the Sultan, until some of his officers drew his notice to some ramification of the '*alāmah* which differed from that of the Sultan. The emir then sought news concerning the Sultan of his familiars who were in the camp (at al-Manṣūrah), and so learned of his death. His fear of the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn greatly increased, and being filled with alarm that this personage would seize power, he took measures to protect himself.

The Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn commenced to free prisoners and to bestow sums of money and robes of honor on chosen emirs, and he released sugar and cotton to Syria. From that moment the population understood that the Sultan was dead, while yet no one dared pronounce a word concerning it. Al-Fāris Aqṭāy,³ who was the commander of the Bahri mamelukes, left the camp to bring al-Malik al-Mu'azzam from Ḥiṣn Kayfa. The Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn (deputy of the Sultan) also despatched an envoy on his own behalf. And on Monday, eight days from the end of the month of Sha'bān [31st November], Ḥusām-al-Dīn instructed the *khaṭibs* to invoke blessings on al-Malik al-Mu'azzam in the Friday prayers, after intercessions for his father, and he also commanded that the name of al-Mu'azzam be engraved on the coinage, after that of his father. Yet he was afraid that the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn would set up al-Malik al-Mughīth 'Umar, son of al-'Ādil Abū-Bakr, son of al-Kāmil, and so gain all authority. The Sultan's deputy therefore moved the young prince from the care of his father's aunts, the daughters of al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū-Bakr ibn-Ayyūb, who dwelt in Cairo, to the Citadel of the Mount and assigned over him guards who should surrender him to no one.

Meanwhile correspondence emanated from the Emir Fakhr-

al-Dīn bearing the address "From Fakhr-al-Dīn, the servant Yūsuf" to which the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn replied by subscribing himself "The mameluke Abū-'Alī." They thus outwardly displayed humility, but stealthily the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn began to seek arbitrary and independent control of the realm. He took as his intimates the Ṣāhib Jamāl ibn-Maṭrūḥ and the Qāḍi Bahā'-al-Dīn Zuhayr. He commenced to ride with a vast retinue, with all the emirs who were in attendance on him dismounting when he alighted and being present at his table.

The envoy of the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn arrived in due season at Ḥiṣn Kayfa, and explained to al-Malik al-Mu'azzam that despatch would be advisable, that procrastination would lose him his opportunity, and that the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn would then gain mastery of the land. After that the envoys of Fakhr-al-Dīn and Shajar al-Durr arrived. Al-Mu'azzam set out from Ḥiṣn Kayfa on the night of Saturday, eleven days having passed of the month of Ramaḍān [18th December], and directed himself toward 'Ānah in order to cross the Euphrates. Badr-al-Dīn Lu'lu', prince of Mosul, had posted a body of men, as likewise had the Aleppans, with the object of seizing him. But God preserved him from them and, crossing the Euphrates at 'Ānah, he penetrated the desert and jeopardized his life, for he was near to die from thirst.

Shajar al-Durr, meanwhile, was so arranging affairs that no change occurred. The imperial tent remained as it was, the table was daily spread, and the emirs attended in service, but she would say: "The sultan is ill. No one may go to him."

The Franks for their part had understood that the Sultan was dead and issued forth from Damietta, knights and infantry, and encamped at Fāraskūr.⁴ Their ships rode beside them on the Nile. They left Fāraskūr on Thursday, five days remaining of the month of Sha'bān [2nd December]. On Friday, a letter arrived in Cairo from the camp urging the people to holy war.⁵ It commenced in this wise: "Go forth, light-armed and heavy-armed, and strive with your wealth and your lives in the path of God. This is best for you if ye but knew."⁶ It was a letter bearing weighty exhortations of great eloquence. It was read out to the populace from the pulpit of the great mosque of Cairo, and when it was read there was weeping and wailing,

and cries were raised with a clamor beyond description. Cairo and Miṣr shook from the agitation of the people and their movements for departure. And so a vast concourse set forward from the two cities and their surroundings to wage holy war against the Franks. For great had become the consternation of the people at the strength and power of the Franks and their capture of territory; this together with the death of the Sultan.

On Tuesday, the first of Ramaḍān [8th December], the Franks gave battle to the Muslims, and al-'Alā'i, Emir of the Council, was killed in God's cause, as were a number (of soldiers⁷). Many Franks were also killed. The Franks encamped at Shārimṣāḥ.⁸ On Monday, the seventh of the month [14th December], they made camp at al-Baramūn,⁹ and anxiety became great and the affair momentous because of their close approach to the (Muslim) camp. On Saturday, the thirteenth of the month [20th December], they reached the edge of the Damietta territory and encamped opposite al-Manṣūrah, with the Ushmūm canal lying between them and the Muslims. (The greater part of the Muslim army were at al-Manṣūrah on the eastern bank¹⁰), but on the western bank were the sons of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak, (al-Malik al-Amjad, al-Malik al-Zāhir, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, and al-Malik al-Awḥad,) and with them was a body of troops. The male children of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd—the grown-up and the young ones—who had come to Cairo were twelve in number. On the west bank also were the brothers of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, namely al-Malik al-Qāhir 'Abd-al-Malik and al-Malik al-Mughīth 'Abd-al-'Azīz.

The Franks, meanwhile, established themselves in their camp. They surrounded themselves with a trench, and encompassed themselves with earthworks on which they erected palisades. They also set up mangonels with which to bombard the Muslim camp, while their fleet [*shawāni*] lay at anchor opposite them on the Nile. The Muslim fleet rode opposite al-Manṣūrah. Thus fighting ensued between the two sides by land and by water.

On Wednesday, the sixteenth of the month [23rd December], six horsemen burst into the Muslim camp and gave information of the hazardous situation of the Franks. And on the Day of

the Breaking of the Feast, a great Frankish count, a kinsman of the King of France, was rendered captive. The struggle continued, so that no day passed but that Franks were killed and taken prisoner. They suffered great tribulation at the hands of the Muslims and their irregular followers¹¹ and lost many taken prisoner or killed. The Muslims would spread terror among the Franks and then throw themselves into the water and swim across to the Muslim side. For example, a man took a melon and, inserting his head within it, swam beneath the water until he approached the Franks, who thought him to be naught but a melon. At once some one descended into the water to gain it, but the Muslim seized him and swam off with him to the Muslims.

On Wednesday, the seventh of Shawwāl [13th January, 1250], the Muslims captured a ship [*shīniyah*]¹² carrying around two hundred Frankish infantry and a great count. On Thursday, the fifteenth of that month [21st January], the Franks took to horse (for combat), but the Muslims attacked them on the banks on which they stood, engaged them violently, and killed forty knights and their horses. On Friday, the third of the month [9th January], sixty-seven Frankish prisoners had arrived in Cairo, three of them being principal officers of the Templars. On Friday, the twenty-second [28th January], a huge Frankish transport¹³ was burned on the water, and the Muslims were greatly in the ascendant. Then, on Tuesday, the fifth of Dhū'l-Qa'dah [9th February], some perfidious Muslims directed the Franks to some fords across the Ushmūm stream,¹⁴ and the (Muslim) troops knew nothing before the Franks were in their camp. The Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn was in his bath, and shouts informed him that the Franks had attacked the camp. He ran out in confusion and, mounting his horse ungirded and without armor, rode out to discover the situation and to call the troops to horse. He had with him only a few of his mamelukes and soldiers, and a body of Templars encountered him and fell upon him. His escort fled, and left him to defend himself. A spear pierced his side, and swords fell upon him from all sides, so that he perished, God's mercy upon him.

The Franks had now reached Jadīlah¹⁵ to the number of 1,400 cavalry led by the brother of the King of France (Count

Robert of Artois). No sooner was the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn killed than the Franks hurled themselves upon al-Manṣūrah. The troops dispersed and fled right and left, and defeat was imminent, for the King of France¹⁶ himself had arrived at the gate of the Sultan's palace. Then God extended his favor, and confronted the Franks with the corps of Turks known as the Baḥris and the Jandars. They were commanded by (Rukn-al-Dīn) Baybars al-Bunduqdāri, who later became sultan, and they threw themselves upon the Franks in a charge which shocked them and drove them from the palace gates. When the Franks turned, the Muslims took the sword and mace to them, and at this conjuncture killed around fifteen hundred of their most distinguished and brave. The Frankish infantry had meantime advanced to the pontoon in order to cross it, and but for God's goodness, the event would have ended in their favor because they had crossed the bridge.

After the struggle in the side-streets of al-Manṣūrah, the Franks withdrew to their camp at Jadīlah and darkness fell between the contending armies. The Franks enclosed themselves with a wall and a ditch. A body of them was positioned on the east bank (of the Nile), but their main body was on the territory¹⁷ that extended to Damietta. This battle was the beginning of victory over the Franks.¹⁸

When the Franks had attacked the camp, pigeons had been released with the news to Cairo, and the populace had been greatly alarmed. Fugitives, both from the soldiery and from the civil population, arrived in the city, and its gates were not closed on the night of Wednesday¹⁹ because of these fugitives. And then, at dawn on Wednesday, a message dropped with the good news of victory over the Franks. Cairo was decorated, drums beat the good tidings in the Citadel of the Mount, and great was the joy and happiness of the people. The control of the army was undertaken by Shajar al-Durr. The duration of the governing of Egypt by Fakhr-al-Dīn Yūsuf, son of the Grand Shaykh, after the death of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, was seventy-five days. On his death, his mamelukes and some of his emirs looted his house, breaking open his chests and coffers, seizing his treasures and his horses, and burning the building.

CHAPTER 9

The Reign of al-Mu'azzam Tūrānshāh, Son of al-Ṣāliḥ

*The Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'azzam
Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Tūrānshāh*

Tūrānshāh was the son of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb, son of al-Kāmil Muḥammad, son of al-'Ādil Abū-Bakr, son of Ayyūb, son of Shādi, son of Marwān. He set out from Ḥiṣn Kayfa for Damascus after eleven nights of the month of Ramaḍān had passed [18th December], and came to camp at 'Ānah¹ with fifty horsemen of his personal following, on Thursday, the fifteenth of Ramaḍān [22nd December] in the year 647. He departed thence on the Sunday following, and wended towards Damascus by the Samāwah² route through the desert. He halted for the night at al-Quṣayr in a pavilion set up for him by the Emir Jamāl-al-Dīn Mūsa ibn-Yaghmur, governor of Damascus, on Friday two nights from the end of the month of Ramaḍān. The following day, Saturday, the last day of the month [6th January], Tūrānshāh entered Damascus and took up residence in the citadel. It was a day of great celebration. The Emir Jamāl-al-Dīn embraced his service, the emirs gave him the oath of allegiance, and he there and then assumed the sultanship. He bestowed robes of honor on the emirs and gave them considerable sums of money, expending what lay in the citadel of Damascus, which amounted to three hundred thousand *dīnārs*. He called for further sums from Karak,³ and spent them. He restored their liberty to those in Damascus who had been imprisoned by his father. Ambassadors came to him from Ḥamāh and Aleppo to felicitate him upon his arrival.

After four days of the month of Shawwāl had passed [10th January], a message fell on the camp (of al-Manṣūrah) and on Cairo announcing the arrival of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam (Tūrān-

shāh) at Damascus, and his proclamation as sultan. The good news was proclaimed by drumbeat in the camp and at Cairo.

The Sultan left Damascus on Wednesday, the twenty-seventh of the month [2nd February], and took the road to Egypt. He had bestowed a robe of honor on the Emir Jamāl-al-Dīn, and confirmed him in his office of vice-sultan of Damascus. With him went the Qāḍi al-As'ad Sharaf-al-Dīn Hibat-Allāh ibn-Ṣā'id al-Fā'izi, who resided in Damascus with the Emir Jamāl-al-Dīn. He was also accompanied by Hibat-Allāh ibn-Abū'l-Zuhr ibn-Ḥashīsh, the Christian clerk. The Sultan had promised to make him vizir of Egypt, and he had embraced Islam and received the appellation of the Qāḍi Mu'īn-al-Dīn. On the first of Dhū'l-Qa'dah [5th February], the Sultan sent him to the citadel of Karak to take possession of its treasures. He discharged his mission and overtook the Sultan in the (Sinai) desert.

When reports began to arrive in Cairo of the approach of the Sultan, the Chief Qāḍi Badr-al-Dīn al-Sinjāri went out and met him at Gaza and gave him escort. The Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-'Ali,⁴ vice-sultan (of Egypt), issued forth to al-Ṣāliḥīyah, and met the Sultan there on Saturday, fourteen nights remaining of the month of Dhū'l-Qa'dah [21st February]. Tūrānshāh lodged in his father's palace, and it was then that the death of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ was announced. Until that day, no one had uttered a word of his death, and everything had remained as it was: al-Ṣāliḥ's great tent, his table, the emirs attending for his service, all as in his lifetime. Shajar al-Durr had controlled all the affairs of the empire, saying: "The Sultan is sick; none may approach him." And thus there was no change until al-Malik al-Mu'azzam came to al-Ṣāliḥīyah.

In this manner al-Mu'azzam took possession of the throne of Egypt. He gave the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-'Ali a splendid robe of honor, and a sword and belt with three thousand Egyptian *dīnārs*. The poets composed a number of poems in his praise; and in his presence discussions and disquisitions took place on a variety of learned subjects. In truth, he was deeply conversant with learning, and well understood the art of disputation, as well as jurisprudence and the principles (of religion).⁵ His grandfather, al-Malik al-Kāmil, loved him for his predilection for learning, and from his earliest youth would

set him complex problems, commanding him to explain them or to be examined on them by schoolmen in his presence. Al-Mu'azzam continued these studies until he excelled in them, yet there was in him foolishness and levity despite his fondness for the company of men of learning, be they *faqīhs* or poets.

Al-Mu'azzam Tūrānshāh removed from al-Ṣālihiyah and encamped at Tilbānah.⁶ He then moved on to a third encampment, and finally came to al-Manṣūrah. He had been met by the emirs and the mamelukes, and took up residence in the palace of his father and grandfather on Thursday, nine days remaining of the month of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah [26th February]. The first thing he did was to take the young mamelukes of the Emir Fakhr-al-Dīn, the son of the Grand Shaykh, and a great part of his personal estate without paying their price. Fakhr-al-Dīn's heirs thus received nothing, yet the value of his estate was around fifteen thousand *dīnārs*. The Sultan began to revile Fakhr-al-Dīn and said: "He has released the sugar and the cotton, spent all the money, and freed the prisoners. What has he left for me?"⁷

Supplies were meanwhile arriving by the Nile from Damietta for the Franks in their encampment. The Muslims, therefore, built a number of ships which they transported, section by section on the backs of camels, to Lake Maḥallah into which they launched the ships and filled them with fighting men. It was the time of the inundation of the Nile. When the Frankish vessels arrived at Lake Maḥallah, these ships, which were lying there in ambush, suddenly came out upon them and attacked them. At the same time, the Muslim fleet bore down from the direction of al-Manṣūrah, and the Frankish vessels were captured "with heavy chastisement"⁸ to the number of fifty-two. About a thousand Franks were killed or taken prisoner, and all the supplies and victuals in the vessels were seized. The prisoners were borne away on camels to al-Manṣūrah. Thus were provisions from Damietta denied to the Franks, and famine ensued. They were in sorest straits, being neither able to stand their ground nor to withdraw, while the Muslims, for their part, were eager for the hunt.

On the first of Dhū-'l-Hijjah [7th March], the Franks captured seven of the light ships [*ḥarārīq*] that formed the squadron

on Lake Maḥallah, but the Muslims who manned them escaped. On the second of the month, the Sultan sent an order to the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn ibn-Abū-'Alī, enjoining him to repair to Cairo, there to reside in the Vizirial Lodge, as was his custom, and to discharge the functions of vice-sultan. On the same day, a group of jurisprudents betook themselves to the Sultan. Among them were the Shaykh 'Izz-al-Dīn ibn-'Abd-al-Salām, Bahā'-al-Dīn ibn-al-Jummayzi, the Sharīf 'Imād-al-Dīn, the Qāḍī 'Imād-al-Dīn al-Qāsim ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Hibat-Allāh ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-Nabbān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Muqanshā' al-Ḥamawī, Qāḍī of Miṣr, who had been installed as Qāḍī after the death of al-Jamāl Yaḥya in the month of Jumādā al-Ulā, and Sirāj-al-Dīn al-Urmawī. The Sultan sat with them, and held a colloquium with them.

On the Day of 'Arafah [16th March, 1250], a convoy bringing food to the Franks arrived and was intercepted (at Masjīd al-Naṣr⁹) by the Muslim large galleys,¹⁰ which captured thirty-two Frankish vessels, nine of them being large galleys. This intensified the famine among the Franks, and they opened communication with the Sultan, seeking a truce of him. Their emissaries were met by the Emir Zayn-al-Dīn, son of the Jandār Emir, and the Chief Qāḍī Badr-al-Dīn al-Sinjārī, and they offered to surrender Damietta and to take in exchange the city of Jerusalem and part of the coastal plain of Palestine. But these terms the Muslims rejected.

On Friday, three days remaining of the month of Dhū-'l-Ḥijjah [4th March], the Franks burned all their timberwork and destroyed their ships in order that they might escape to Damietta. The year came to its close while they were yet in their encampment.

This year a horde of Tartars descended unawares on Baghdad, killing and pillaging, so that the people ran fearful before them. 'Alī ibn-Qatādah gained possession of Mecca in the month of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah [5th February–6th March]. The Sharīf Shayḥah, Emir of Medina, was killed, and his son 'Īsā succeeded him.

Al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nūr-al-Dīn 'Umar ibn-'Alī ibn-Rasūl, sovereign of the Yemen, also died in this year and was succeeded by his son al-Manṣūr Shams-al-Dīn Yūsuf. The selfmade king of Tunis, Abū-Zakarīyā' Yaḥya ibn-'Abd-al-Wāḥid ibn-

Abū-Ḥafṣ, died at the end of the month of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [9th October]. He was forty-nine years of age. After rebelling and gaining possession of Tunis, he made himself its independent ruler and caused blessings to be invoked on his name in the *khuṭbah*. For the power of the Almohade sovereigns of the dynasty of 'Abd-al-Mu'min ibn-'Ali had declined. Abū-Zakarīyā' reigned over Ifrīqiyah¹¹ twenty-three years, and his dominion stretched as far as Tilimsān,¹² Sijilmāsah, and Ceuta, while the people of Seville, Shāṭibah,¹³ Almeria, and Granada gave him allegiance. On his death he left great riches. His son Muḥammad al-Mustanṣir was recognized as his successor. This Abū-Zakarīyā' was the first Ḥafṣid ruler of Tunis, those before him being governors in the name of the house of 'Abd-al-Mu'min.

In this year, the Sharīf Abū-Sa'd ibn-'Ali ibn-Qatādah arrested the Emir Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Musayyab in Mecca at the end of the month of Shawwāl, as related in the events of the foregoing year, and assumed the emirdom of Mecca.

The Year 648 (A.H.)

[5th April, 1250–25th March, 1251]

On the night of Wednesday, the third of Muḥarram [7th April], all the Franks departed from their encampment and marched toward the city of Damietta, their ships descending the river before them. The Muslims rode after them, having crossed to their side of the river in their pursuit. When morning rose on the Wednesday, the Muslims had surrounded them. They plied the sword among them, and overcame them, killing and taking prisoners. The greatest part of the fighting took place at Fāriskūr, and the number of the dead reached ten thousand according to the lowest estimate, and thirty thousand according to the highest. Those taken prisoner of the Frankish knights, foot-soldiers, artificers, and common people approached one hundred thousand. The Muslims seized as booty horses, mules, and monies beyond count, so considerable were they. Of the Muslims, around a hundred died in God's cause. The corps of Bahri mamelukes, in particular Baybars the Bunduq-dāri, behaved with conspicuous gallantry and made a splendid impression.

The King of France, together with a number of the great personages of his nation, sought safety on Tell (al-Munyah)¹⁴ and sent to request safe conduct. This was granted to them by the *ṭawāshi* Jamāl-al-Dīn Muḥsin al-Ṣāliḥi, and they descended the hill under his bond. They were then removed to al-Manṣūrah. The King of France was put in iron chains and incarcerated in the house where the Qāḍi Fakhr-al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn-Luqmān, the Secretary of the Diplomatic Bureau, lodged when in al-Manṣūrah. The *ṭawāshi* Ṣabīḥ al-Mu'azzami was charged with his surveillance. His brother was confined with him, and a daily allowance was granted to him. Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam (Tūrānshāh) commanded Sayf-al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn-al-Ṭūri, who was one of those who had come with him from the eastern provinces, to execute the Frankish prisoners. Sayf-al-Dīn accordingly took out each night between three and four hundred of them and beheaded them and cast their bodies into the river. Thus all were despatched.

The Sultan moved from al-Manṣūrah and encamped at Fāris-kūr. There the imperial tent was set up, a wooden tower was erected, and the Sultan abandoned himself to amusement. He wrote to the Emir Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Yaghmur, governor of Damascus, a letter in his own hand saying: "From his son Tūrānshāh. 'Praise be to God who has relieved us of affliction.'¹⁵ 'There is no victory save from God.'¹⁶ 'This day the True Believers rejoice at God's victory.'¹⁷ 'Proclaim the favors of your Lord (God),'¹⁸ 'which if you should seek to number you could not count.'¹⁹ We announce to the august court of Jamāl, nay we announce to all Muslims, the victory which God had granted to the Muslims over the enemies of the Faith. For their affairs had prospered and malevolence did prevail, and the true worshipers had despaired of their land, their kith, and their children. But proclaim the good news, 'and despair not of the spirit of God.'²⁰ For on Monday, the first day of this auspicious year, God heaped His blessings on Islam. We had opened up our treasure stores, spent our monies, distributed our weapons, and had mustered the Arabs and volunteers and a multitude only God could assess. They came from every deep valley and lofty distant place.

"On the night of Wednesday, the Franks abandoned their

tents, their monies, and their heavy baggage, and moved toward Damietta in retreat. But our swords did not cease to fall upon their backs throughout the night, and shame and disaster was their lot. When we came to the morning of Wednesday, we had killed thirty thousand of them, not counting those who had cast themselves into the deep waters. As for the prisoners, speak of the sea (for great quantity) and you will not err. The Frenchman sought refuge at al-Munyah and asked for safe conduct, which we granted him, and likewise we treated him with honor. We have taken possession of Damietta with the aid and power of God, and His glory and greatness." And he continued in a long epistle.

With the letter al-Mu'azzam sent the cloak of the King of the French, and the Emir Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Yaghmur donned it. It was scarlet and lined with miniver. The Shaykh Najm-al-Dīn-Isrā'il said of it: "The cloak of the Frenchman came as a gift to the lord of princes. It was white as paper, but our swords dyed it with blood." Another said: "O lord of all the kings of all ages, you have gained the victory promised of God. May our master never cease to storm the enemy strongholds, and in the garb of their kings to dress his slaves."

Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam commenced to banish the great men of the empire. He removed al-Malik al-Mughīth Faḥ-al-Dīn 'Umar, son of al-'Ādil Abū-Bakr, son of al-Kāmil, from the Citadel of the Mount to Shawbak, and there imprisoned him. He drove from Egypt al-Malik al-Sa'id Fakhr-al-Dīn Ḥasan, son of al-Malik al-'Azīz 'Uthmān, son of al-'Ādil Abū-Bakr ibn-Ayyūb, and when that prince arrived in Damascus he was arrested by Ibn-Yaghmur and cast into prison. On Friday, five days of Muḥarram having passed, a letter from the Sultan arrived in Cairo for the Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn Abū-'Alī, the vice-sultan, commanding his presence before the Sultan. In his stead as the vice-sultan of Cairo, the Sultan appointed the Emir Jamāl-al-Dīn Aqūsh al-Najībī. On the arrival of the Emir Abū-'Alī at the camp, he was divested of all prerogatives; and this after he had been the implement and support of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ.

The Sultan then sent an officer to Shajar al-Durr, threatening her and demanding the money of his father (al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ)

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and the jewels in her possession. A great apprehension of him filled her because of the foolishness and levity which began to show in him. Forthwith she wrote to the Baḥri mamelukes apprising them of what she had done on the Sultan's behalf, in administering the empire and organizing affairs until he arrived to take possession of the throne. She further informed them of the threats she had received and the demands for that which she did not possess. The Baḥris were much moved for her, and were indignant with the actions of the Sultan.

The Sultan had promised al-Fāris Aqtāy, when he had joined him at Ḥiṣn Kayfa, to make him an emir. But the Sultan had not discharged his promise and Aqtāy had turned against him, although he concealed his resentment; and Shajar al-Durr's letter provoked his latent bitterness.

As an aggravation of these matters, the Sultan disregarded the mamelukes who had discharged the important concerns of his father, cast off the emirs and officers of high authority, and banished his father's servants and companions; he took to himself instead the group who had come with him (from Ḥiṣn Kayfa) and entrusted them with the high royal offices. He advanced the basest of men. He made the *ṭawāshi* Masrūr, who was his personal servant, his master of the household; and he installed Ṣabīḥ, who was a dandified Abyssinian slave, as his *jāndār* emir, favoring him with much money and splendid fiefs, and ordering a gold stick to be made for him. With all this, he treated the mamelukes ill and made threats against them. When drunk at night, he would cause the candles to be collected before him and with his sword strike their tops so that they were severed, and say: "Thus I will treat the Baḥris," calling each one by his name. He was more withdrawn than his father, and was given to raising dissension among his father's mamelukes. They had not been accustomed to this treatment from his father. He acted in similar manner toward his father's favorite female slaves. With all this, all the powers of high authority, of commanding and forbidding, passed to those henchmen of his who had come with him (from Ḥiṣn Kayfa).

Thus were the hearts of the Baḥris turned away from him, and they resolved to put him to death. (After he had encamped

at Fāriskūr),²¹ a banquet had been spread, on Monday, the twenty-sixth of Muḥarram [30th April], and the Sultan had seated himself at it, according to his custom, when one of the Baḥris approached him. It was Baybars the Bunduqdāri, who later became sovereign of Egypt, and he struck the Sultan with his sword. Al-Mu‘azzam met the blow with his hand, and his fingers were cut off. He took refuge in his wooden tower, crying out: “Who has wounded me?” “An Assassin,”²² came the answer, but he exclaimed: “No, by Allah, it was none but a Baḥri. By Allah I will not leave alive a soul of them.” And he demanded a barber (to dress his wounds). Then the Baḥris said one to the other: “Despatch him or we perish,” and entered upon him with their swords. The Sultan fled to the top of the tower and bolted the door, while the blood flowed from his hand. The Baḥris set fire to the tower, and loosed arrows against the Sultan. He then threw himself from the tower and cling to the cloak-trails of al-Fāris Aqṭāy, begging his protection. But this Aqṭay refused him, and he passed on in flight into the river, crying: “I do not desire the kingdom. Let me but return to Ḥiṣn Kayfa. O Muslims! Is there not one among you who will aid and protect me?” All the soldiers stood about him, but not one answered him, while arrows fell upon him from all sides. The Baḥris then swam after him and slashed him with their swords, so that he died of wounds, of fire, and of drowning. His henchmen fled and went into hiding. The swollen body of al-Mu‘azzam was left on the bank of the river for three days, none daring to bury him. At last the ambassador of the Caliph was moved to pity, and the corpse was moved to the other bank and interred.

The duration of the reign of Tūrānshāh had been seventy-one days. On one occasion it had been suggested to his father that he should be sent for, in order that he might come from Ḥiṣn Kayfa to Egypt, but al-Ṣāliḥ had refused. The Emir Ḥusām-al-Dīn Abū-‘Ali had repeatedly requested that his presence should be required and al-Ṣāliḥ had replied: “When he arrives here, I shall kill him.” The principals in the killing of Tūrānshāh were four of his father’s mamelukes. When that sovereign had desired the death of his brother, al-‘Ādil, he had said to the *ṭawāshi* Muḥsin: “Go to my brother al-‘Ādil

in prison, and take with you some mamelukes who will strangle him." Muḥsin laid this proposal before a number of mamelukes, but all declined save four, and Muḥsin left with them and they strangled al-'Ādil. And so it was that God willed that these same four were they who led the shameful killing of his own son al-Mu'azzam.

Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, after the murder of his son al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Tūrānshāh, was seen by someone in a dream saying:

They killed him most foully;
And his murder became an example to the world.
They were not mindful of their promise,
Nor did they consider those who went before him.
Soon enough you shall see them
Devoured by the meanest of men.

The following pages will describe the struggle between the Egyptians and the Syrians, between al-Mu'izz Aybak and al-Nāṣir (Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn) Yūsuf (ibn-al-'Azīz Muḥammad ibn-al-Zāhir Ghāzi ibn-Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf, prince of Aleppo). In this contention many great personages perished.

With the killing of al-Mu'azzam the dynasty of the Ayyūbids was cut off. It had lasted for eighty-one years, and the number of its sovereigns was eight, as we have recounted.

Glory be to the Everlasting God. There is none other than He, and He endureth forever.

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Notes and References

Introduction

1. *History of the Arabs* (London, 1949), p. 688.
2. *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge, England, 1941), p. 453.
3. *Arabic Literature* (Oxford, England, 1926), p. 105.
4. Introduction to his edition of the *Sulūk* (Cairo, 1934).
5. *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (London, 1969), p. XXXIV.
6. The full title is *Al-Muwā'iz wa-'l-tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-'l-Athār*, or "Sermons and Learning by Example in an Account of the New Settlements and the Remains." This work, printed at Bulaq in A.H. 1270, describes Egyptian topography, history, and antiquities.
7. "A List of Writers, Books and other Authorities mentioned by El Maqrizi in his *Khiṭaṭ*" (London, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1902), p. 106 ff.
8. *Khitat* 1, 4.
9. Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ṭibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Bulaq, 1896), p. 22.
10. *Al-Ta'rīkh al-Kabīr al-Muqaffa' li-Miṣr*, or shortly, *al-Muqaffa'*.
11. *History of the Crusades*, Preface, p. XI.

Chapter One

1. The editor of the text, Dr. Ziyadah, notes that Maqrīzī seems to have used much of Ibn-Shaddād's *al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyah wa-'l-Maḥāsin al-Yūsūfiyah* when writing of Saladin, but abbreviated that writer's sentences. The words in parentheses here are from Ibn-Shaddād (*R.H.C.Or.* III, 7).
2. The editor of the text states in a footnote that a marginal note in the text records that this Mas'ūd was born in A.H. 505 [10th July, 1111–27th June, 1112] and died in Damascus in A.H. 578 [7th May, 1182–25th April, 1183]. He was an Imām eminent in religious sciences.
3. See Introduction.
4. A town ten miles south of al-Minyā in Egypt, where Saladin and his uncle Shīrkūh vanquished the allied army of Shāwar, the Fāṭimid vizier, and Almaric, king of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, on the 18th of March, 1167.
5. This refers to the siege of Damietta by the Crusaders in November 1169, and their raising of the siege in the December following.
6. Shāwar had three sons: Ṭayy, Shujā', and Sulaymān.
7. This refers to the well-known Koranic verse regulating the distribution of the *zakah* [alms], Surah IX:60.

8. As with the naming of the Caliph in the *khutbah* [the Friday mid-day sermon], the striking of coins in his name was also a prerogative of the Caliph. In this instance, that of the 'Abbāsid Caliph of Baghdad was substituted for that of the Fāṭimid Caliph of Egypt. The name of the temporal ruler, in this case the name of Nūr-al-Dīn, but later of Saladin, followed.

9. *Al-ḥiddah al-nuqrah*, being coins to the proportion of two-thirds silver to one-third copper.

10. This raising of the value of the "marine" or "black" *dīnār* as compared with the *nuqrah* is characteristic of Saladin's care for his marine.

11. Bahā'-al-Dīn ibn-'Abdullāh al-Asadi al-Rūmi al-Māliki, styled Qarā-qūsh, was originally a slave and had been emancipated by Asad-al-Dīn Shīrkūh. In the early days of Saladin's vizirate he had been chamberlain, and later he was entrusted with important duties, including the building of the Citadel of the Mount in Cairo. He long enjoyed the confidence of Saladin, as did his son 'Uthmān after him, as will be seen. See p. 39, and *Enc. Isl.*, s. v. Karākūsh.

12. *Shuhūd*, lit. "witnesses," i.e., men of unstained character whose testimony was valuable in law.

13. *Ṭablkhānah*. Ziyadah notes that this is a Persian word meaning "imperial military band." This band played in the citadel every morning after prayers and accompanied the sultan on his journeys and wars.

14. The traditional color of the 'Abbāsid caliphs of Baghdad.

15. The *ahl al-dhimmah* were the members of the revealed religions, namely the Jews, the Christians, and the Sabians, who had entered into covenant with the Muslims. As believers in the true God, they were tolerated by Muḥammad but were disarmed and made to pay tribute for the protection afforded them. See Chapter 2, n. 20.

16. *Zakah* denotes "purification" and thus distinguishes that proportion bestowed in alms as a sanctification of the remainder to its owner. It is one of the five religious practices obligatory on the believer. *Zakah* is due on cattle, grain, fruit, merchandise, minerals, and money after a year's possession, and each category is assessed separately. Of grain and fruit a tenth is given when grown in rain-watered land, but a twentieth when the land was irrigated. Cattle is more elaborately assessed, and for money and merchandise one-fortieth is prescribed. No *zakah* is paid on the necessities of life such as houses and implements of work. In the early days of Islam, *zakah* was collected by officials and used for building mosques and colleges for the needy, or for a holy war or similar service to God. At the present time the discharge of these prescriptions is left to the conscience of Muslims, who pay their alms to the needy.

17. Ziyadah supplies the parenthesized words from Ibn-al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, XI, 246, having been unable to read the ms. text through the adhesion of two pages at this point.

18. *Ṣāhib* seems to be an honorific used throughout this work as a synonym for vizier.
19. For an explanation of the old Arab militia system see H.A.R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*. pp. 36–37, and "The Armies of Saladin," in *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne*, série III, fasc. 4 (May 1951) pp. 304–20.
20. These lines also appear in Hartwig Dérenbourg's *Oumara du Yemen*, I, 352–55. Muḥammad ibn Tūmart (1078–1130) was the Berber potter's son who rose to found the Almohade dynasty and empire, which held sway over the North African coast and Moorish Spain.
21. *Mutawalli dīwān al-nāẓar*. Ziyadah, p. 53, n.4, notes that the Ayyūbids reduced the function of the vizierate in Egypt. The duties of the vizier were shared by officials called *nāẓirs* (ministers, controllers). There was the *nāẓir* of the army, the *nāẓir* of the sultan's personal estate, and the *nāẓir* of state (*nāẓir al-dawlah*) who assisted the vizier in general administration. This functionary was also called the *nāẓir* of *dīwāns*, and *nāẓir* of *nāẓirs*, and his bureau was described as the *dīwān* of control (*dīwān al-nāẓir*). His assistant was the *mutawalli* here mentioned. Cf. al-Qalqashandi, *Ṣubḥ*, V. 465–66, and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'Époque des Mamlouks*, p. LXVIII.
22. *Dā'i al-du'āh*, lit. Chief Propagandist or Missionary, an appellation given to the head of the Bāṭini persuasion whose missionaries were called *dā'is*. Being Shī'ites, of the Ismā'īliyah system, they were, as here revealed, inveterate supporters of the Fāṭimid caliphate. The title *Dā'i al-Du'āh* also signified the Grand Master of the Order of Assassins, under whom were the Grand Priors (sing. *al-dā'i al-kabīr*). See notes 32 and 41 of Chapter 4 on the Order of the Assassins and on the Bāṭini doctrine.
23. Balas derives from the Arabic *balaksh*, so called from Badakhshan, near Samarkand, where this variety of ruby is found.
24. This fleet was sent against Alexandria by William II of Sicily in response to the request of the conspirators mentioned on p. 49, and before he knew that the conspiracy had miscarried.
25. Thus the ms., but in reality the name was Stephen of Perch. Nor was he a servant, but a cousin, of Queen Margaret, the mother of William II. See *Camb. Med. Hist.* V, 197.
26. Ziyadah notes that the ms. seems to be in error here, there being no name such as this in the list of William's officers. Again see *Camb. Med. Hist.* V, 197.
27. *Shīnīyah* (pl. *Shawāni*) is translated by Dozy, *Suppl.*, as "galère." Quatremère, *op. cit.*, I, 142, notes that a Vatican manuscript (Man. 267, fol. 82) describes a *shīnīyah* as having 140 oars. It was apparently the largest and most used of the Egyptian warships. See Maqrizi, *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 194–95.
28. *Bārīn* lies between Aleppo and Ḥamāh.
29. *Nā'ib fī'l-kitābah*. This officer was in charge of the vast personal correspondence of the Sultan. A *Kātib al-Inshā'* directed the chancellery responsible for protocol and diplomatic relations. See Chapter I, n. 76.
30. A plain or meadow near Damascus.

31. A city south of Barqah, North Africa.
32. A town between Manbij and Aleppo.
33. A village north of Aleppo.
34. More generally Maşyād, the chief fortress of the Order of Assassins, (see next note), and still standing on the eastern slopes of the Nuşayriyah Mountains near Tripoli.
35. See Chapter 4 n. 32 on the Ismā'ilite Order of Assassins (Ḥashshāshūn).
36. See Chapter 4, n. 41 on the Bātini community and doctrine.
37. A broad flat stretch between Baalbek and Ḥims containing many villages.
38. Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī (b. A.D. 767), founder of one of the four schools or rites into which orthodox Islam is divided, viz., Shāfi'ite, Ḥanafite, Mālikite, and Ḥanbalite. The Shāfi'ite is the second-largest rite and chiefly prevails in Egypt, western and southern Arabia, and Palestine. Al-Shāfi'ī's tomb in Cairo is still the object of pilgrimage.
39. Ziyadah notes that this probably refers to the tax levied on Frankish merchants arriving at the port of Alexandria. The tax was one-fifth of the value of the goods. See al-Qalqashandi, *Subḥ*, III, 463.
40. *Maks*, see n. 73.
41. *Silāḥ dār*, a word compounded from the Arabic *silāḥ* (weapons) and the Persian *dār* (holder), and meaning here the bearer of the Sultan's arms and armor. This officer was also responsible for the arsenal and ranked as an emir of a hundred. See al-Qalqashandi, *Ṣubḥ*, V, 456, 462.
42. This fortress, built by King Baldwin IV, lay on the Upper Jordan between the Sea of Galilee and Lake Huleh and commanded the ford beside which Jacob wrestled with the angel. The Franks had undertaken never to fortify the crossing, and Baldwin had wished to abide by the treaty, but the Templars had overruled him. Saladin had offered Baldwin 100,000 gold pieces to abandon the project, and on the king's refusal had embarked on this action and destroyed the castle. See Runciman, 11, 418, and *infra*.
43. The words in both parentheses were taken by Ziyadah from *R. H. C. Or.* IV, 195.
44. The Meadow of Springs, a valley lying between the Upper Jordan and the Litani River.
45. A strong fortress in the territory of Aleppo, near Mar'ash.
46. The *wafā' al-Nīl* represented the height of the Nile water at which the embankment of the irrigation canals could be cut.
47. *Al-ajnād al-baṭṭālīn*, i.e., the officers and soldiers who, from age or other reasons, were not in active employment.
48. *Al-ḥabs al-juyūshi*.
49. *Naṭrūn*, or native sesquicarbonate of soda.
50. *Ḥarrāqah* (pl. *ḥarārīq*), lit. "a fire-ship," namely a ship that discharged Greek fire on the enemy. More generally, however, ships so described were used for the movement of emirs, state officials, or even troops, and for general transport duties. They were probably of light tonnage. See Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 11, 195; and Quatremère, 1, 142.

51. Ziyadah, quoting Maqrīzi, loc. cit., notes that there were three ship-yards in Cairo: those of the Island of Rawḍah, of al-Maqs, and of Misr, which latter was also known as al-'Amā'ir.

52. Lit. "emirs of a hundred." See Chapter 5, n. 86 for a statement on the various ranks of emirs.

53. *Ṭawāshi*, lit. "eunuch." H. A. R. Gibb, in "The Armies of Saladin" in *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne*, serie III. fasc. 4 (May 1951), p. 309, n. 31, quotes Maqrīzi, *Khiṭaṭ* 1, 86, as defining *tawāshi* as meaning "a trooper whose pay [*rizq*] ranges from 700 to 1,200 [the text has 120] *dīnārs*, and who has a baggage train of ten or less animals—horses, hacks, mules, and camels, and a squire to carry his armour." Gibb goes on: "It is clear from this passage, however, that at this period *ṭawāshi* meant a trooper belonging to the upper of the two ranks of mamelukes, the lower being the *qaraghulams*."

54. *Qaraghulāmīyah*. See above. Ziyadah, however, p. 75, n.3, is of the opinion that these were a corps of military police, charged with such duties as the control of military traffic and the protection of military roads.

55. The Banū Kinānah were a tributary tribe of the Muḍarites. This latter appellation comprehended the North Arabian tribes who polarized, with the South Arabians or Yemenites, the Arab world of those days. The Muḍarites claim descent from Ishmael, and the Yemenites are identified by genealogists with Joktan, son of Eber (Genesis X:25 et seq.). The Yemenites were of the Shī'ite persuasion, and the Muḍarites, being orthodox, Sunnites, would naturally support Saladin. The Kinānah had emigrated from Palestine after the capture of Ascalon by the crusaders and had been settled in Damietta and its neighborhood by the then rulers of Egypt.

56. See n. 47.

57. *Al-Muwatṭa*, or "The Traveled Path," is the canon for the Mālikite rite (see n. 38) and was composed by the founder, Mālik ibn-Anas (b. A.D. 715). It codified the doings and sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad.

58. Rashīd-al-Dīn Sinān the old Man of the Mountains, Grand Master of the Assassins. See Chapter IV, n. 32.

59. For this prohibition see the article by I. Lichtenstadter, referred to in Chapter 2, n. 20.

60. Maqrīzi has "Qulzum," near Suez, but the more likely judgment of Ziyadah supplies "Aylah" from Ibn-al-Athīr, 11, 323.

61. Subuktigin (976–97), a Turkish slave, was the real founder of the Ghaznavid empire of Afghanistan and the Punjab, which endured from A.D. 962 to 1186. His son Maḥmūd extended and consolidated the empire in India and established Islam there. The last ruler was, in fact, Khusrūmalik, not Khusrūshāh. See Lane-Poole, *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 289.

62. A fortress twelve miles south of Gaza, three miles from the sea.

63. More familiarly Ein Jalud, or the Pools of Goliath, ten miles west-northwest of Baysān.

64. Forbelet, nine miles north-northwest of Baysān.

65. Zir'in, or Le Petit Jerin, six miles north of Jerin, or Le Grand Jerin.

66. A Persian word for a light, brittle stone alleged to possess special properties against poison (Dozy: *Suppl.*).

67. A small town in the Ḥawrān. See Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, p. 556 and Index.

68. The site of a permanent Roman military camp, ten miles east of Karak.

69. See *R.H.C. Or.*, IV, 248.

70. Ḥiṣn Kayfa, a large fortress overlooking the Tigris and lying between 'Amid and Jazirat ibn-'Umar.

71. This paragraph seems to be a garbled version of that preceding.

72. Ancient Oxyrynchos, in Upper Egypt, some twenty-five miles north of Minyā and fringing the Libyan Desert nine miles west of the Nile.

73. In the Egypt of those days, in addition to the *kharāj* (land-tax) on agricultural produce, there was an unpopular tax called *hilāli*, later *maks*. Revived by the Fāṭimids at the time of their decline, abolished by Saladin, and restored by his son al-'Azīz 'Uthmān, it consisted of imposts on an unrelated variety of subjects such as native carbonate of soda, edible fish, Nile drinking water, certain industries and habitations, as well as port and caravan dues, bridge tolls, and import duties. The revenues it brought accrued to the sultan's *dīwān* and to the holders of certain fiefs. See *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst, pp. 48-49; Maqrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 103 et seq., 121-24, II, 267-68; and al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, III, 468-71.

74. In the cemetery of al-Qarāfah, Cairo.

75. A powerful mountain fortress thirty-five miles northwest of Nisibis.

76. This supplement is contained in the margins of pages 24 and 25 of the ms. edited by Ziyadah. Its contents do not occur in the ms. translated by Blochet.

77. *Nāẓir*, see n. 21.

78. *Kātib al-Inshā'*; the word *inshā'*, "epistolography" means here the diplomatic correspondence of the sultan. The *dīwān* over which the *Kātib al-Inshā'* or Secretary of Diplomatic Correspondence presided was a sort of chancellery or ministry of foreign affairs. This functionary also acted as a chief of protocol. Protocol and the use of the full and correct honorifics were most strictly observed in the correspondence of the Oriental monarchs of the Middle Ages, and an abridgment of titles might be construed as a grave insult, only to be expunged by war.

79. The text of these two sentences, according to Ziyadah, p. 90, n. 5, is corrupt.

80. *Mukūs* (sing. *maks*); see n. 73.

81. A Turkish word composed from *ata*, "father," and *beg*, "prince," and so meaning the protector or guardian of a prince.

82. Also called al-Dayli, Ziyadah, p. 92, n. 7; Cf. G. Demombynes, op. cit., p. 244, n. 1.

83. Bostra, in the Ḥawrān.

84. *Hājib*, pl. *ḥujjāb*. Ziyadah quotes al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 19, as describing the duties of the *hājib* to be "mediating between the emirs

and the soldiers, at times doing it himself, at times referring it to the viceroy (*nā'ib*), if there were one. To the *hājib* were brought those who were insubordinate or refractory. He was also responsible for reviews of troops and such matters." His official function was to act as chamberlain to the sultan, and his was the power to admit or exclude envoys and dignitaries seeking audience of the sultan. His office was therefore one of great influence. See also *Enc. Isl.*, s. v. *Hādhib*.

85. Near Hims.

86. 'Abd al-Latif ibn-Yūsuf was born in Baghdad in 1162. He was a very versatile scholar, part scientist, part physician. The extract quoted here is from his *al-Ifādah w'al-I'tibār*, an important topographical work, edited and translated into Latin by D. J. White (Oxford, 1800).

87. The Coptic month of August.

88. Since the blank metals on which they were stamped were of unequal weight.

89. Yāqūt, V, 516, says that this lake is near Hims and is twelve miles long. It must therefore be Lake Hims which lies immediately to the southwest of Hims.

90. Situated nearly forty miles west of Hims.

91. Saone, the great castle in the hills behind Latakieh.

92. These two powerful fortresses near Antioch were situated on two adjacent hilltops and protected by deep ravines. Yāqūt, I, 804, and II, 303.

93. In a footnote Ziyadah says that the equivalent English word is "curtain." It is, he says, "an exterior wall of wood or some other substance, behind which the defenders seek protection."

94. As further evidence of Saladin's attention to the *Dīwān* or Ministry of Marine, Ziyadah adduces the following from Maqrizi's *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 194. "He (Saladin) assigned to this *Dīwān* al-Fayyūm and its dependent lands, and the Juyūshi endowment in both the eastern and the western provinces; from the eastern province Bahtīn, al-Amīriyah, and al-Minah, and from the western province of the canton of Saṭṭ, Nahya, and Wasīm, and the orchards outside Cairo. He also allotted the land-tax, which covered the innumerable trees of Bahnasāwīyah, Saṭṭ Rishayn, al-Ashmūnīn, al-Asyūṭīyah, al-Ikhmīmiyah, and al-Qūṣīyah. There remained in these districts nothing that was not cut, save that which was absolutely needed. Amongst them were single trunks which reached a price of a hundred *dīnārs*. He also allotted the *natron*, which brought a revenue of eight thousand *dīnārs*. He further set aside for the *Dīwān* of the Marine the *zakāt* that was collected in Miṣr, which exceeded a yearly sum of fifty thousand *dīnārs*. He moreover set apart for the *Dīwān* the *Dīwāniyah* grain-ships and the canton of Ashnāi and Ṭanda." See Ziyadah's text, p. 107, n. 2, and my notes.

95. *Al-ḥabs al-juyūshi*.

96. Native sesquicarbonate of soda.

97. Used in tanning leather.

98. Shāwar was killed by Saladin in 1169.

99. *Wūqāṭ* in text. See Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*

(Cambridge, 1930), pp. 142, 147; cf. Yāqūt, Vol. II (Beyrut, 1956), p. 59, where it is *Tawqāṭ*.

Chapter Two

1. The Asadis were the old officers of Asad-al-Dīn Shirkūh, and the Salāhis were those of Salāh-al-Dīn (Saladin).

2. A fortress situated on the Euphrates between Bālis and Raqqah. Yāqūt, II, 84.

3. Brother of the historian 'Izz-al-Dīn ibn-al-Athīr. In the margin on this page Maqrizi writes: "Naṣr-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Abū'l-Barakāt Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Shaybānī al-Harrānī, known as Ibn al-Athīr Abū'l-Faṭḥ Ḍiyā-'al-Dīn, Chief of the Secretariat (*Kuttāb*) of his day, born in al-Jazīrat al-'Umanīyah on Thursday, the 20th of Sha'bān in the year 557, and died in Baghdad at the end of the month of Rabī' al Ākhir, in the year 637."

4. *Ustādār*. The organization of the court and state was of partly Persian derivation, hence this and other Persian titles (e.g., *silāḥ dār* Chapter I, n. 41). Ziyadah (p. 115, n. 3) refers to the contradiction between al-Qalqa-shandi (*Ṣubḥ*, IV, 20, and V, 457) and other authorities as to the true etymology of this word. See also G. Demombynes, *Introd.*, p. LX and n. 4.

5. A certain *faqīh* set up as governor by Saladin.

6. A large village in the Ghūṭah of Damascus.

7. The Emperor Isaac Angelus II.

8. The *Muhtasib* was an official who, by Koranic precept, "arranges the affairs of the good, and restrains the wrongdoer." His duties involved, inter alia, the overseeing of markets, directing the police, and checking weights and measures. He was also the guardian of public morals, charged with upholding the laws against gambling, usury, the public sale of wine, and sexual immorality. Among his interesting duties was the chastisement of those who dyed their gray beards in order to win ladies' favors. See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 332, 527.

9. Also called the Miṣr ship-yard. See Chapter I, n. 51.

10. *Al-ḥalqah*, lit. (troops of) "the ring," and, in this case, signifying the ring or corps of troops who composed a large part of the sultan's army. In Ayyūbid and Mameluke times, the sultan's military establishment consisted of two elements, the sultanīc mamelukes and the troops of the *ḥalqah*. The former enjoyed the greater trust and favor, and its officers received the greater fiefs (*iqṭā's*). Its members consisted of slaves purchased when young from Caucasia and the shores of the Black Sea and reared and trained for the sultan's special service. They received their pay (*jāmkīyah*) from a special purse.

The other element, the troops of the *ḥalqah*, were far more numerous, with a strength of around 24,000. They appear to have formed a sort of royal militia, and their officers exercised no real discipline over them save in time of war. The commander of a thousand of them had also a hundred

mamelukes in his service, and was therefore described as "an emir of a hundred." See Chapter 5, n. 87. The appanages of the senior commanders varied from 250 to 1,500 *dīnārs* in value. The troops of the *ḥalqah* were more broadly recruited and varied in composition, and comprised not only ex-members of the sultanic mamelukes and their sons, but others with claims on or useful to the sultan. They received their pay from the *diwān* of the army.

In war the mamelukes who belonged directly to the provincial magnates would be brought by their lords to fight for the sultan. See also, for notes on special household troops, *Jandars* Chapter 2, n. 17, and *Baḥri* mamelukes, Chapter 5, n. 49. Cf. Ziyadah, p. 122, n.2; al-Qalqashandi, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 15-16; and G. Demonbynes, *Pref.*, p. XXX et seq.

11. A town on the right bank of the Euphrates, near Raqqah.

12. *Sanjaq*, a Turkish word meaning, originally, a lance, and, by synecdochic extension, the standard itself. The *sanjaq* was small and yellow, and in time of peace alone accompanied the sultan. But in war the great war banners as well flew over him—that called the *‘iṣābah*, a huge silk banner colored yellow with gold embroidery and bearing the sultan's motto and name, and the *jālīsh* another vast affair, bearing a poetic inscription. They were under the care of the Emir of the Standard.

13. Ziyadah, p. 124, n.3, observes that there is a lacuna of about five words in the Constantinople manuscript, while in the Paris manuscript there is no indication that the final words are missing. In n. 2 of the same page Ziyadah says that Ibn-al-Athīr in his *Kāmil* XII, 79, recounts what happened that year as the result of the estrangement caused by the mistrust felt by al-Ẓāhir, the ruler of Aleppo, in the intentions of al-‘Adil toward his nephews. Ibn-al-Athīr was, of course, a contemporary, and his words are not to be taken lightly. He says: "The greatest cause [of the quarrel] was the confidence of al-Afdal in al-‘Ādil, revealing extreme trust, even permitting him to enter his town [Damascus] while he himself was absent. His brother, al-Ẓāhir Ghāzi, ruler of Aleppo, sent to him saying: 'Remove our uncle from between us, for no good can come from him to us. As for us, we will abide by all you should desire. I know our uncle better than you, and am closer to him, being his son-in-law. And he is my uncle as well as yours. If I knew that he wished us well I would have surpassed you in attachment to him.' But al-Afdal replied: 'You think evil of everyone. What interest of our uncle could injure us.' This was the greatest cause, and not everyone knows of it."

14. Modern Sayjar, a fortress on the Orontes which was temporarily occupied by the Assassins until captured by Nūr-al-Dīn Zangi in 1168. He appointed as its governor a foster brother, who was succeeded by two brothers, all of whom received the cognomen of Ibn-al-Dāyah, or "Son of the Wet-Nurse." 'Izz-al-Dīn was the third.

15. Ziyadah explains that this award means that the recipients were granted the rank of Emir *Ṭablkḥānah*, or "Emir of a Band," namely one

entitled to a band whose cymbals could be struck at his door. See Chapter 5, n. 87.

16. The Jawlān [Gaulanitis] in the Hawrān, and al-Manīḥah in the Ghūṭah, were both dependencies of Damascus.

17. The *jāndārs* were a select corps of mamelukes belonging to the Sultan. The word is Persian, *jān*, meaning "a weapon," and *dār*, meaning "one who grasps." They had the privilege of guarding the Sultan's door and executing his sentences of death and torture. See *Enc. Isl. S. V. Djandar*.

18. For particulars of this treachery see Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, XII, 80.

19. Ziyadah notes that these children of Saladin were probably from a different mother.

20. See Chapter 1, n. 15. For the restrictions on dress for non-Muslims in Islamic countries, see I. Lichtenstadter, "The Distinctive Dress of Non-Muslims in the Early Islamic Empire," in *Historia Judaica*, vol. V, pp. 35-42 (New York, 1943).

21. *Nawrūz* is a Persian word meaning "new year." It falls on the vernal equinox, the 21st of March, and in medieval Egypt was a time of carnival attended by unseemly revelry and immorality. See Maqrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 493.

22. *ʿAmilūn* (sing., *ʿāmil*). Ziyadah, p. 137, n.4, refers to al-Qalqashandi, *Ṣubḥ*, V, 466, as stating this officer to be responsible for the Dīwān accounts and records.

23. *Ṣāhib al-Dīwān*. Ziyadah, p. 137, n.5, states this term to be synonymous with *mutawalli dīwān al-nāẓar*. See Chapter 1, n. 21.

24. Raydān is a locality near the present ʿAbbāsīyah, in Cairo [note by Ziyadah].

25. I have supplied "al-Dīn" from Blochet, p. 244.

26. The word *qayṣariyah* derives from the Greek *καίσαρεια* and denotes a large, square building containing store-rooms and shops for merchants. It was introduced to Arab countries by the Byzantines and would seem to indicate a market building licensed by the Caesar for a fee. Maqrīzi in his *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 87, says: "I saw a number of merchants, who had travelled wide, who declared that they had never seen its like in beauty, size, and proportion in construction. In its upper part Fakhr-al-Dīn erected a large mosque."

27. For further particulars of this Frankish assault, see Blochet, p. 246, n. 1, where he gives a translation of a relevant passage from the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*.

28. *Dawādār* is composed from the Arabic word *dawāh*, "an ink-well," and the Persian word *dar*, "one who holds," and in this case signifies "the Holder of the Sultan's Ink-Well," or, simply, his personal secretary. This functionary was responsible for presenting letters and petitions before the sultan, and for the safe despatch of letters emanating from the sultan. He consulted the sultan as to who should be admitted to his presence. He was therefore an official of importance. Cf. *Enc. Isl.*, s. v. *Dawatdar*; al-Qalqashandi, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 19, and V, 462; al-Maqrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 222.

29. *Nawrūz*. See n. 21.

30. *Ahl al-Dhimmah*. See Chapter 1, n. 15, and this chapter, n. 20.

31. The legal Muslim day begins at sunset, hence the night of the twenty-seventh would be the evening of the twenty-sixth by our reckoning. By the same token, "the night of Thursday" must be rendered "Wednesday evening" in our style.

32. Ziyadah notes that the remaining portion of this year's events are taken by Maqrīzi mostly from Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 99–101.

33. A celebrated Shāfi'i theologian, not to be confused with Abū-Bakr al-Rāzi [Rhazes] 865–925, the great Persian physician Hājji Khalīfah, I, 333 (ed. Yalḥaja): *Ta'sīs al-taqdīs fī 'l-kalām li-l-Imām Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Rāzī al-Shāfi'i al-mutawaffā sana sittā wa-sittami'a allāfahu li-l-Malik al-'Ādil Sayf al-Dīn wa-arsala ilayhi hidayatan*. (Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arab. Literature*, Suppl. I, 928₁₉, lists the title under at-Ṭūsī. There must be some mistake here. Possibly, the manuscript listed by Brockelmann [Köpr. 796] contains the work of al-Rāzī. *GAL*, Suppl. I, 923₁₉, lists al-Rāzī's *Asās*(!) *at-taqdīs* as contained in Köpr. 796 and printed in Cairo 1328. Also *GAL*² I, 668₁₉. *Asās* is probably wrong, although the work may have circulated under both titles since the time of the author.) [I owe this information to the kindness of Professor Franz Rosenthal of Yale University.]

34. An esoteric-Islamic sect, followers of Muḥammad ibn Karrām of Sijistān.

Chapter Three

1. *Silāḥ dār*. See Chapter 1, n. 41.

2. Al-'Ādil being absent at the siege of Māridin. Note by Ziyadah from Ibn Athīr, *Kāmil*, XII, 94.

3. A village between Bilbīs and al-Ṣālahīyah. Yāqūt, vol. 3, pp. 599–60.

4. Taken by Ziyadah from Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., XI, 94.

5. The Masjid al-Qadam, in Damascus, where Saladin was buried.

6. A village on the route from Egypt to Damascus, in the midst of the sand desert and near al-Farma. Yāqūt, IV, 144.

7. Blochet, op. cit., p. 205, explains that al-'Ādil would consider it a crime to enter, sword in hand, the capital of Saladin, who was a virgin in the sense that he had never been mastered.

Chapter Four

1. Cf. Abū 'l-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣir fī Tārīkh al-Bashr*, pp. 64, 65, 66, 77 in *Rec. Hist. Or.* 1.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

3. His father had been a judge at Baysān. Note by Ziyadah quoting al-Maqrīzi, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 366.

4. April, or the eighth month of the Coptic year.

5. The Coptic month of August.

6. Known as Raḥbat Mālik ibn-Ṭawq, on the Euphrates between Raqqah and Baghdad, below Qarqīsiya.

7. A high fortress overlooking the Euphrates, twenty-five miles from Manbij.

8. A town near Harrān.

9. The Jazīrah is the northern part of the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

10. Leo II.

11. A town on the Orontes.

12. Inserted by Ziyadah from Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, XII, 117.

13. "Ṣūri" in text, after the city of Ṣūr (Tyre). When the Crusaders occupied the city in A.H. 518 (A.D. 1124), they minted coins bearing the name of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Āmir (d. A.H. 524 [A.D. 1130]) for a period of three years and then discontinued the practice. See Ibn-Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Vol. IV (Cairo, 1948), p. 385. After the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the Crusaders undertook, under the terms of peace, to pay a tax of twenty *dinārs* for every man and five Tyrean *dinārs* (*danānīr ṣūriyah*) for every woman. See Ibn-Khallikān, Vol. VI, p. 189. In his *Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhhbār al-'Ibād*, al-Qazwīni (d. A.D. 1283) describes Tyre as "a famous city on the edge of the Syrian Sea [Baḥr al-Shām] . . . to which is ascribed the Tyrean dinars [al-danānīr al ṣūriyah] with which the people of Syria [al-Shām] and Iraq deal." See Wüstenfeld's edition (Göttingen, 1848), p. 144.

14. Maqrizi has already placed this event (see above) in the year 596. I am unable to explain the discrepancy.

15. "Castle of the Kurds," the Crac des Chevaliers of the Crusaders, and today Qal'at al-Ḥiṣn.

16. In actual fact one effete and unsuccessful branch of the Hashemites, the Banū Fulaytah, was succeeded by another, the Banū Qatādah, which lasted until the advent of King Ibn-Sa'ūd in our time.

17. Qatādah was a Hashemite, and sixteenth descendant from 'Ali and Fāṭimah, cousin and daughter of the prophet Muḥammad. A poet and a warrior, of remarkable aspect and strong character, he was lord of the port of Yanbu' at the time that certain Meccan notables approached him to expel and succeed the neglectful and pleasure-loving Banū Fulaytah rulers.

18. Leo II, of Armenia.

19. Bohemond IV of Antioch, who was in treaty alliance with al-Zāhir of Aleppo.

20. A village on the Nile some seventeen miles from the sea.

21. I am unable to decide whether by *Bilād al-Rūm* Maqrizi intends the Greek mainland or Asia Minor, to both of which this appellation could apply.

22. A secretary of the *Dīwān al-Inshā'* [Bureau of Foreign Affairs]. Note by Ziyadah, p. 165, n. 5.

23. Blochet, p. 291 n. 3, cites Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb*, as saying that another son, Ghāzi, killed the tyrant father and sought to

succeed him, but was at once assassinated by his brother Maḥmūd's supporters, and thrown to the dogs.

24. That is, Al-Manṣūr of Ḥamāh, al-Mujāhid of Ḥimṣ, and al-Amjad of Baalbek. Al-Zāhir Ghāzi of Aleppo sent an army. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, XII, 187–89, and Blochet, p. 292, n. 1.

25. His sons al-Awhād of Khilāṭ and al-Ashraf Mūsa and others. Same references as at n. 24.

26. That is, Al-Zāhir of Aleppo and Kaykhusraw, son of Qilij Arslān of Rūm. Same references as at n. 24.

27. Hibat-Allāh ibn-al-Mubārak ibn-al-Daḥḥāk, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 189.

28. *Futūwah*, "manliness" or "chivalry," was the name given to a sort of order of chivalry or sworn brotherhood. It started in the twelfth century as a Darwish order and had a particular attachment to 'Alī, whom it regarded as its ideal [*fatā*] and model. The members, *fiṭyān*, were initiated in a special ceremony, took the oath, drank the cup, and assumed a distinctive garment, "the trousers of manliness," symbolic of the patched garb of the Ṣūfī mystic. The Caliph al-Nāṣir, probably as part of his plan to restore the power of the caliphate, reorganized the *futūwah* on the model of Christian knightly orders. He especially identified with it the "shooting of bullets," presumably from the arbalest.

29. The Valley of Mina is a halt, three miles from Mecca, on the pilgrims' march to Mount 'Arafah.

30. Ziyadah's text has Ṣafiyah, but he later corrects this to Ḍayfah. His text, p. 271, n. 2, explains this correction: the princess was called Ḍayfah because on the night of her birth her father entertained a guest (*ḍayf*).

31. A large pool outside Old Cairo.

32. A member of the secret order, based on esoteric Ismā'īlite antecedents, called the *Hashshāshūn* because *hashish* was used to madden or stupefy its members into committing assassination. Formed to advance the ambition and heresies of its founder, al-Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāḥ, it terrified for close on two centuries Muslims and Crusaders alike by treacherous use of the dagger. Neither caliphs nor sultans could suppress them, but in 1256 the Mongol Hūlāgu destroyed their principal stronghold and in 1272 the Mameluke Sultan Baybars brought them to final subjection. Their innocuous descendants acknowledge the Aga Khan as their titular head.

33. For an elaboration of this incident see Gerald de Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, pp. 83–85.

34. Presumably Upper and Lower Egypt.

35. A seminomadic Berber tribe. They captured the Almohade capital of Marrakesh in 1269 and reigned there until 1554, when they were replaced by the Sa'd Sharifs.

36. According to Ziyadah, he was unable precisely to elucidate these passages, nor can I.

37. One of the Muslim fortifications in a long cordon stretching from Melitene by the upper Euphrates to Tarsus near the Mediterranean coast.

Al-Khawābi was fifteen miles from Tarsus. All these strongholds were situated at the confluence of military roads, or at mountain passes. Tarsus commanded the southern entrance to the pass across the Taurus known as the Cilician Gates.

38. Black seems to indicate copper, although silver would be expected.

39. That is, struck in al-ʿĀdil's name.

40. The word used, *qarāṭīs*, according to Ziyadah, here means *qudbān* [bars].

41. An Ismāʿīlite community with a doctrine known as *bāṭin* [inner, esoteric]. Its followers interpreted the Koran allegorically and sought to penetrate the outside veil [*ẓāhir*] that concealed the inner meaning of religious truth. Initiation to the esoteric doctrine was done in seven, later nine, stages or grades, and under oath of secrecy. Their beliefs included the transmigration of souls; the immanence of the Divinity in Ismāʿīl, the seventh Imām; the expectation of his early return to earth as the Mahdi; and the formation of the universe by emanation from the divine essence. This aggregation of beliefs was later erected into a religio-political system by the Persian ʿAbdullāh ibn-Maymūn [d. A.D. 874], who despatched missionaries throughout the Muslim world arousing skepticism of traditional teaching, displaying the obscurity of the literal sense of the Koran, and showing the need for an authoritative teacher, namely the Imām or Mahdi, whose surrogate was ʿAbdullāh. The final grade alone disclosed the inner meaning of the Koran, which proved to be substantially Aristotelian and neo-Platonic in general outline, with Zoroastrian and Masdekist elements.

From this system derived the Fāṭimid dynasty of Tunis and Egypt. ʿAbdullāh's descendant al-Muʿizz founded in 969 the Fāṭimid caliphate of Egypt, which endured until overcome by Saladin in 1171. The terrible Qarmatian sect, named after the leading Bāṭini missionary Hamdān Qarmaṭ, the Druze religion, and the Assassins had the same derivation. See n. 32.

42. Modern Adalia. A fortress on the Turkish coast northwest of Cyprus. Maqrīzi had put "Antioch" [Anṭākiyah] instead of "Anṭāliyah," and Ziyadah has made the correction which the sense of the sentences that follow confirms. The parts in brackets were included by Ziyadah after reference to *Enc. Isl.* s. v. Kaikus I and Kaikhusraw I.

43. So named because he belonged to a community of Kurds called Lūris.

44. A *khāniqāh*, a *ribāṭ*, or a *zāwiyah* (pl., *khawāniq*, *ribātāt*, and *zawāyā*) were all Muslim religious houses founded for asceticism, mysticism, and for works of charity. A *ribāṭ* (fortified monastery) had also often a military role on the frontiers of Islamic territories, and its members, the *murābiṭ* [whence marabouts], famed for their fanaticism in battle, founded the Murābit [Almoravide] dynasty of northwestern Africa and southern Spain. The *khāniqah* referred to here was founded, the first of its kind in Cairo, by Saladin, and specially endowed for Ṣūfī mystics and provincials. Cf. Ziyadah, p. 182, n. 4.

45. After Qunbur Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ, the freed slave of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir.

46. This name, corrupt in the text, was corrected by the editor of the text.
47. Fruit market, situated opposite Bāb Zuwaylah, where fruits of all kinds from the gardens and orchards around Cairo were displayed and sold.
48. Al-Kāmil was invariably well disposed to the Christians. St. Francis visited him and discussed religion with him. The Coptic Church still recognizes him as the most beneficent sovereign it ever had.
49. Ḥarasta is a large village near Damascus.
50. An area outside the Bāb al-Jābiyah in Damascus.
51. An area at the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr outside Damascus.
52. A small town belonging to Ḥawrān.
53. Son of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh, uncle of Saladin.
54. An ancient city about thirty miles from Aleppo, near the Euphrates. Yāqūt, IV, 654–56.
55. A powerful fortress north of Aleppo; *ibid.*, I, 864.
56. A village outside Damascus.
57. See Chapter 3, n. 33.

Chapter Five

1. According to Yāqūt, I, 755, a town northwest of Damietta on the Mediterranean coast.
2. The principal town of the district of Daqahliyah, east of al-Mansūrah and south of Dakrans. Yāqūt, I, 282.
3. Maqrīzi is in error here. The date 6th of Dhū-'l-Qa'dah in the year 616 [13th January 1220] is palpably wrong. A few lines earlier he has given the date 21st of Dhū-l-Qa'dah (615 being understood [12th February 1219], that being the year under review) for the same event, namely, the crossing by the Franks over to the eastern bank of the Nile. This latter is the correct date, as confirmed by all other authorities. The whole siege of Damietta was over by the 5th of November, 1219 [25th of Sha'bān, 616], when the Muslims captured it.
4. Literally, "the sand" [*al-raml*], and signifying that part of the road to Syria which ran through Sinai.
5. Al-Ashraf Mūsa was sovereign of Khilāṭ, but at that time also in possession of a small Armenian principality. Cf. *Enc. Isl.*, s .v. Armenia and Begtimur.
6. See Chapter 2, n. 17.
7. Lying between Aleppo and Samosata, near the Euphrates. Yāqūt, II, 891.
8. See Chapter 1, n. 86.
9. As Ziyadah says, the author of these lines is unknown.
10. For a description of these administrative districts, styled *ḥawf*, as above, and *rīf*, Ziyadah refers to Omar Toussoun, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Arabe*, Vol. 1, pt. I, pp. 1–4; and pt. 2, p. 217.

11. A large village in the subdistrict of al-Daqahliyah on the Damietta branch of the Nile, north of Shirbīn, seventeen miles from Damietta.

12. A tributary canal of the Malīj Canal, which opens on the Damietta branch of the delta near the present town of Nahā. Commencing south of Ṭanṭa, the Maḥallah Canal went northeast, passing Hiyātim and Laqinah, and emptying into the Damietta branch opposite Shārimsāh on the opposite side. Omar Toussoun, *Mémoire sur les Anciennes Branches du Nil*, p. 98.

13. Blochet observed that though the manuscript gives this date it is manifestly an error of the copyist, since all these events took place in the year 616, the year being described.

14. A town in Armenia north east of Khilāṭ.

15. The Ankara of today.

16. See *Enc. Isl.*, s. v. Kaikabad.

17. The "Mount of Recognition," a halt for the pilgrims on the ninth day of the pilgrimage.

18. Son of al-Kāmil, Sultan of Egypt, and viceroy of the Yemen since A.H. 612 [A.D. 1215].

19. John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem.

20. Cardinal Pelagius of St. Lucia.

21. Between al-Manşūrah and Shirbīn.

22. Mūsā is the Arabic for Moses, whence the description of the Ayyūbid prince's enemy as a pharaoh.

23. Again a play on names, for 'Īsā [Jesus] was one of the names of al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam, prince of Damascus, as was Mūsā [Moses] one of the names of al-Malik al-Ashraf, prince of Khilāṭ, and Muḥammad was one of the names of al-Kāmil as well as that of the prophet of Islam. This play on names is repeated twice in the verses that follow.

24. A fortress lying between Āmid and Jazīrat ibn 'Umar on the Tigris.

25. In fact al-Malik al-Mas'ūd appointed the father of Nūr-al-Dīn, 'Alī ibn-Rasūl, as governor of Mecca in that year. See Lane-Poole, *Muhammadian Dynasties*, p. 99.

26. A town on the coast near Jiddah.

27. A town on the Hejaz-Yemen frontier, beside the port of Ḥālī and near Jabal Ḥālī. See *Enc. Isl.* s. v. Ḥālī.

28. Ziyadah is of the opinion that Maqrīzī intended al-Makhlafah, a place below Mecca. He points out that Makhlāf, the word used in the text, is synonymous in the Yemen with "district," of which there are 129 in that country. Cf. Yāqūt, IX, 434-40.

29. A small town on the fringe of the Syrian Desert, in the district of Ḥamāh. It is commonly known as Salamīyah.

30. That is, Yūnus, son of Ibn-Mawdūd, son of al-'Ādil, and later prince of Damascus.

31. In reversal of the procedure recorded in the preceding year, when al-Kāmil's banners were given priority over the Caliph's by his son al-Mas'ūd.

32. Ziyadah quotes al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 7, as explaining that on ceremonial occasions the gold-embroidered horse-cloth, or saddle-cover [*al-*

ghāshiyah], was borne on foot before the Ayyūbid princes, in the procession, as one of the symbols of their sovereignty. On great occasions the bearer was one of the high personages of the state.

33, 34, 35. All towns of ancient Media, lying west and southwest of the Caspian Sea, and now part of modern Iran. Hamadhān [Ecbatana] was the capital. Qumm lies some eighty miles south-southwest of Teheran; Qāshān [modern Kashan] 120 miles due south of Teheran, was famous for its *qāshāni* tiles, square or hexagonal and glazed, and bearing conventional flower designs.

36. A gold coin of 4.64 grams.

37. See n. 30 above.

38. That is, Iraq Ajemi, a district of Persia occupying the west-central regions and almost identical with ancient Media.

39. Ancient Elam, modern Arabistan.

40. A parasang was the equivalent of about 3.25 miles, but the map shows this town to be about forty miles west of Baghdad.

41. Two of the venerated "Companions of the Prophet" who transmitted his alleged acts and sayings by way of *Ḥadīth* or Traditions (lit. *ḥadīth*, tale). The collection of these traditions, together with the revelations of the Koran, form the basis of Islamic theology and law (see para. 2 of the Introduction). The study of *ḥadīth* became one of the principal sciences (*ilm*) in Islam.

42. See Chapter 1, n. 28.

43. Blochet's translation omits this paragraph.

44. That is, originally from the village of Damīrah on the Nile, near Damietta.

45. *Kātib al-Inshā'*. See Chapter 1, n. 76.

46. That is, the Emperor Frederick II.

47. A corps of Mameluke soldiers were called Bahris because they were barracked on the Baḥr al-Nīl [the Nile River]. In fact they were first raised by the Sultan Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, who only succeeded to the throne fourteen years later. Al-Qalqashandi, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 16 and *Enc. Isl.*, s. v. Bahri.

48. As seen above, recently deceased, while his two sons were imprisoned.

49. That is, a member of the Banū-Munqidh, who held Shayzar [modern Sayjar] after 1081, and of whom was Usamah ibn-Munqidh, author of *Kitāb al-I'tibār*, ed. and trans. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior*, translation (New York, 1929; Princeton, N.J., 1930).

50. Theodore Lascaris, Emperor of Nicaea, the empire set up by him and his wife, Anna, daughter of Alexius III, after the Byzantine Empire had been overrun by the Latins. The Greeks then looked to Nicaea as their capital, but some fifty years later the successors of Lascaris ruled again from Constantinople.

51. See *Enc. Isl.*, s. v. Al-Kuds, for a note on this dismantling.

52. Founder of the largest and most tolerant juridical school of the four schools or rites into which the orthodox Sunnite community of Islam is divided. Its followers are called Ḥanafites after him. The other three rites

are the Shāfi'ites, the Ḥanbalites, and the Mālikites, all so described after their respective founders.

53. Al-Mu'azzam was indulging in gentle raillery with his father, suggesting, in a bantering way, that to be a proper Muslim one should be a Ḥanafite.

54. That is, Syria: Mu'azzam, rightly suspecting that his brother al-Kāmil of Egypt and al-Ashraf of al-Jazīrah planned to divide his kingdom of Damascus, or Syria, sought the aid of Jalāl al-Dīn, ruler of the great Khwārizmian Empire, and recognized his suzerainty. The presence of the Mongols to his east hindered Jalāl al-Dīn's military intervention in Syria, and the attacks of both the Mongols and Ayyūbid forces resulted in his death and the disintegration of his empire.

55. *Sanjaq*. See Chapter 2, n. 12.

56. A city in the Delta famed, in the Middle Ages, for its linen fabrics.

57. 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn-'Ali founder of the Muwaḥḥid [Almonade] dynasty of North Africa.

58. *Al-ghāshiyah*. See Chapter 5, n. 32.

59. Then possessed by his brother, Qilij Arslān.

60. A mameluke of al-Nāṣir's father, al-Mu'azzam. Note by Ziyadah from Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, XII, 316.

61. Literally, *tāghiyah*, tyrant.

62. Extracted by Ziyadah from Abu-Shāmah, *al-Rawḍatayn*, in *R. H. C. Or.* V, 186. These canals were dug from the River Barada, which sends off two others, the Mizzah or Manzah, and the Dariya. See Le Strange: *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 265–67.

63. Runciman, III, 189–90, provides an extract from al-'Ayni's account of this famous visit of the Emperor Frederick to Jerusalem. Translation in *R. H. C. Or.* II, 2.

64. Well-known blind poet, A.D. 973–1058.

65. Melitene in Lesser Armenia, by the upper Euphrates.

66. Scholar and littérateur, A.D. 1186–1257.

67. That is, the Dome of the Rock, the take-off site of Muḥammad on his nocturnal journey on the winged horse Burāq to the seventh heaven.

68. A village some ten miles southwest of Ramleh, Palestine.

69. Ziyadah took this insertion from the *Enc. Isl.*, s. v. Ḥalab. Al-'Azīz became prince of Aleppo in A.H. 615 [A.D. 1218.] He was a son of a daughter of al-'Ādil, and so a nephew of al-Kāmil.

70. *Masjid al-Qadam*, a mosque two miles south of Damascus. See *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst, p. 293.

77. Literally, "The Friend [of God]," the appellation given to Abraham, and signifying here the town of Hebron where the prophet lies buried.

72. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, XII, 317–18, and Abū-'l-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣir*, *R. H. C. Or.* I, 95.

73. A town lying between Aleppo and Ḥamāh, *Yāqūt*, I, 466.

74. Khilāṭ was ruled by al-Ashraf, who at that time was at Damascus, which he had taken from al-Nāṣir Dāwūd.

75, 76, 77. The words in brackets were taken from Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, XII, 318–20.

78. Salāh al-Dīn Yūsuf did not succeed his father, al-Mas'ūd, who was the last Ayyūbid ruler of the Yemen, but lived in Egypt until his death. See al-'Ayni, *Iqd al-Jumān*, XVIII, pt. 1, p. 97–98; al-Qalqashandi, *Ṣubḥ*, V, 30; al-Khazraji, *al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyah*, I, 30–44; Ibn-al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, XII, 319.

79. Indicating a renunciation of the world, the shroud being white.

80. A village north of Damascus on the road to Damascus. See Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 489.

81. A district situated between Damascus and Baalbek.

82. An Armenian town.

83, 84. Regarding the revenue of these fiefs in the Minya district of the Nile, Ziyadah, p. 91, n. 3, gives a passage he found on a separate sheet: "The fief of al-Muẓaffar Taqī-al-Dīn 'Umar consisted of the whole of al-Buḥayrah to the value of 400,000 *dīnārs*; al-Fayyūm at 300,000 *dīnārs*; Qāy, Qāyāt, and Būsh at 70,000 *dīnārs*, later receiving, in exchange for Būsh, Samnūd and al-Wāḥāt at 60,000 *dīnārs*; Fuwat and al-Muzaḥamatayn at 40,000 *dīnārs*; and Ḥawf Ramsīs at 30,000 *dīnārs*. The monthly income from Alexandria was 1,500 *dīnārs*."

85. A town on the east bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile Delta, south of the modern Banha, in the province of Qalūbiyah. Omar Tousson, *Géographie*, I, i, PL. IIa.

86. In Chapter 1, n. 52, we have had mention of the "emir of a hundred." Ziyadah, p. 239, n. 1, explains that this officer had a hundred mamelukes in his service, and commanded as well a thousand soldiers of the *ajnad al-ḥalqah*. See Chapter 2, n. 10. He represented the highest rank of emir. Sometimes these emirs commanded more than a hundred mamelukes; here, Shams-al-Dīn had 350, but this was rare. In the days of the mameluke dynasties of Egypt they held all the high offices of Egypt, including those of vice-sultan, grand *dawādār* [see Chapter 2, n. 28], *ustādār* (see Chapter 2, n. 4), and the governorships of Damascus and Aleppo.

After these emirs came the emirs of forty, or the Ṭablkhānah emirs (see Chapter 1, n. 13), who were entitled to the beating of drums at the portals of their residences, although in a less impressive manner than for the sultan or for emirs of a hundred. In practice, their command could rise to seventy or eighty mamelukes. Among the offices falling to this class of emir were those of second *dawādār*, *wālī* of Cairo, *wālī* of the citadel, and the governorships of Alexandria, Tripoli, and Ḥamāh.

After the emirs of forty came the emirs of ten, who held the smaller offices, such as *wālī* of Fuṣṭāṭ, *wālī* of al-Qarāfah, and inspector of *diwāns* (*shādd al-dawāwīn*).

Last came the emirs of five, but they were few in number, and mostly the sons of deceased emirs, having been granted their rank in virtue of their father's services. Cf. al-Qalqashandi, *Ṣubḥ*, IV, 14–28, 50–51, 63–67; al-Maqrizi,

Khiṭaṭ, II, 215-20; and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Pref., pp. XXXIII et seq. and p. 139.

87. Although dispossessed this year by al-Ashraf.

88. A great Roman camp, twelve miles west of Karak in Jordan.

89. *Al-Hind*, meaning *al-Hind al-Islāmīyah*, a part of the Ghūrid empire which attained independence in A.D. 1205. See Lane-Poole, *Muh. Dynasties*, pp. 27-29.

90. Al-Kāmil's purpose was, of course, the removal of al-Sāliḥ from Cairo, and his preoccupation in the command of this outpost.

91. See p. 211 and notes 73 and 74.

92. A tribe of Turks.

93. *Kātib al-Inshā'*. See Chapter 1, n. 75.

94. See p. 208.

95. That is, *Aṭlāban* from *Tulb*, a Kurdish word meaning a command of some hundreds of horsemen. It was introduced to Egypt and Syria in the time of Saladin, and later came to mean the command of a *Katībah*, i.e., battalion of infantry or regiment of horse (Dozy, *Supp.* 1).

96. Ziyadah points out that Maqrīzi is not referring here to Derbent on the Caspian Sea, and explains that *darband* is a Persian word meaning "pass," "narrow passage," which Maqrīzi uses to refer to a pass north of al-Bīrah and the River al-Azraq.

97. Presumably Kharput in the El-Aziz vilayet of Asia Minor. At an altitude of 4,350 feet it lies a few miles south of the Murad Su, or Eastern Euphrates, and almost as near to the source of the Tigris.

98. *Samā'*, a meeting of Ṣūfis or dervishes for the purpose of devotional exercises in which dancing and chanting combined to throw the practitioners into a trance.

99. *Ziqāq al-Ṭabbākh*.

100. *Musharbashan*. Ziyadah, p. 251, n. 1, quoting *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, describes this as a Persian headdress worn instead of the turban by superior officials and not worn by men of the learned professions.

101. Captured, as seen in last year's events, with Harrān by the Sultan of Rūm.

102. To captivity in Egypt.

103. Ten miles southwest of Māridīn, and also known as Kochisar.

104. *Tulb*. See n. 95.

105. A city near Harrān.

106. A town on the Great Zab, an east-bank tributary of the Tigris, which it joins south of Mosul.

107. A town between Māridīn and Nisibis.

108. *Al-Kuttāb al-mustawfūn*.

109. *Al-Sitr al-Rafī'*.

110. Having been originally bestowed by al-Kāmil, they had to be returned to him on the death of the recipient, as today insignia of Orders of Chivalry must similarly be returned to the sovereign.

111. *Ghāshiyah*, see Chapter 5, n. 32.

112. The wife of al-Malik al-Jawād Yūnus ibn-Mawdūd ibn-al-ʿAdil.
113. A river passing near Sinjār and Nisibis that joins the left bank of the Euphrates forty miles southeast of Deir ez Zor. Presumably the district it waters is here intended.
114. See p. 208.
115. A village near Damascus.
116. Literally "Black," in this case an area of black stone south of Busra on the northern frontier of modern Jordan.
117. See n. 100.

Chapter Six

1. The eighth month of the Coptic year, April.
2. See Chapter 1, n. 71.
3. See p. 208 ff.
4. Taken by Ziyadah from Ibn Wāṣil *Mufarrij al-Kurūb*, p. 316.
5. A town some seventy miles down the Euphrates from al-Raqqah belonging to al-Mujāhid, prince of Ḥims. Al-Ṣāliḥ was besieging it on the orders of his father, al-Kāmil. See Ibn Wāṣil, *op. cit.* p. 315.
6. A town on the Euphrates between al-Raqqah and Hit.
7. Father of the reigning king, al-Nāṣir.
8. See Chapter 1, n. 71.
9. It seems, from the adjacent pages, that ʿImād al-Dīn was moving a good deal between Damascus and Cairo, no doubt as the go-between of al-ʿAdil and al-Jawād.
10. See Chapter 2, n. 28.
11. See Chapter 4, n. 32.
12. A town in Palestine some twenty miles north of Nablus.
13. A fortress between Mosul and Nisibis. Yāqūt., II, 42.
14. See Chapter 5, n. 32.
15. Or al-Bithnah, a district near Damascus.
16. Ziyadah quoting Abū-Shamāh, *al-Rawḍatayn*, p. 162, in *R. H. C. Or. V*, says that Maqrīzi here means Khirbaṭ al-Luṣūṣ, a site on the road between Damascus and Beisan, a somewhat indeterminate location. Also see p. 244.
17. "The Eagles' Pass," a defile overlooking the plain of Damascus. See *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst, p. 269. I am at a loss to comprehend al-Ṣāliḥ's tactics here, with himself south on the way to Beisan, and his army on the road north toward Ḥims. The next sentence of the text reveals his indecision.
18. See Chapter 2, n. 10.
19. The emirs, so it should seem, were disgruntled at this appointment.
20. A village in the Egyptian province of Sharqīyah, between Bilbīs and al-Abbāsah.
21. *Nāẓir Diwān al-Jūyūsh*. See Chapter 1, n. 21.
22. The territories of the prince of Ḥimṣ lay between Ḥamāh and Damascus.

23. Cf. p. 243, where it is al-Kuraydi.

24. Taken by Ziyadah from Ibn-Wāsil, op. cit., pp. 330-31.

25. Later Sultan of Egypt.

26. Wife of the Sultan of Egypt, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb. Of Armenian birth, she became a bond maid in the *ḥarīm* of the Caliph al-Musta'ṣim and later of al-Ṣāliḥ, by whom she was freed after bearing him a son, Khalīl, and becoming his wife. On her husband's death she ruled Egypt as Sultānah for eighty days, the only woman ever to rule a Muslim land in Western Asia. As the text later shows, she helped her stepson, Tūrānshāh, to succeed his father al-Ṣāliḥ. On Tūrānshāh's murder by his mameluke guards, she married their commander, 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak, who became the first Mameluke Sultan. But learning that he purposed taking another wife, she had him murdered by his eunuchs in his bath. She herself was at once beaten to death with the wooden shoes of the bond-women of Aybak's first wife.

27. The text says "6,000 million and 20 million *dirhams*." For this palpable corruption I have substituted the figures given below at p. 254.

28. No doubt the writer had it in mind, too, that the Caliph Abū-Bakr came after the prophet Muḥammad.

Chapter Seven

1. Kamāl-al-Dīn had come to Cairo to al-'Ādil, the deposed sultan, as the ambassador of Ṣafīyah Khātūn, mother of the young ruler of Aleppo al-'Azīz.

2. *Ajnād al-ḥalqah*, see Chapter 2, n. 10.

3. Both as a punishment, and to remove them from the capital.

4. The names in the brackets were taken from the later passage at p. 271.

5. Variants Masyāth, Masyad. A hill fortress of the Assassins some twenty-four miles west of Ḥamāh.

6. A town some sixty miles east of Aleppo, on the Euphrates.

7. Ziyadah thinks that Maqrīzi is in error here, confusing the name of al-Malik al-Jawād Yūnus ibn-Mawdūd ibn-al-'Ādil with that of his brother al-Malik al-Awḥad Najm-al-Dīn Ayyūb ibn-al-'Ādil, who was already dead.

8. The Crusader castle of Beaufort on the Litani River [the Leontes] captured, with Safad, from the Crusaders by Saladin.

9. The mountainous region overlooking the coast of Tyre and Sidon. See Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 75-76.

10. An area in the Ghūṭah [surrounding orchard area] of Damascus.

11. Presumably that near Jaffa.

12. A district east of the Dead Sea, comprising ancient Moab, and north of al-Karak.

13. Supplied by Ziyadah from Ibn Wāsil, op. cit., p. 341.

14. See Chapter 2, n. 8.

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15. *Zardakhānah*, a Persian word signifying "arsenal," but used here by Maqrīzi to signify contents of an arsenal.

16. *Shawāni*. See Chapter 1, n. 27.

17. *Harāriq*. See Chapter 1, n. 50.

18. See p. 265.

19. An imitation of the Muslim *shahādah*, or declaration of faith: "There is no deity but God, and Muḥammad is the messenger of God."

20. See *Enc. Isl.*, Kaikhusraw 1, which gives the name of this pretender prophet as Bābā Ishāq. It seems that he was an ascetic who inveighed against the inordinate pleasures of the Sultan Kaikhusraw. The insurrection he raised took some time to subdue. Blochet, p. 474, n. 3, presumes that he was attached to one of the schismatic 'Alid doctrines that had their origin in Persia.

21. A variant of Khān. The ruler intended here is most probably Ogodai, son of Jenghis Khān. See Lane-Poole, *Muh. Dyns.*, p. 215.

22. Yet another variant.

23. See Chapter 1, n. 41.

24. Blochet, p. 478, n. 4, says that he does not hesitate to render this name as Altounbagha, it being a common name among the Turks and Mongols. Note that the name has occurred before.

25. Presumably Rukn-al-Dīn.

26. Taken by Ziyadah from al-Khazraji, *al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyah*, I, 44.

27. Ziyadah refers to Yāqūt, II, 715, to identify this as being a road at Marw. Perhaps part of the Khorasan trunk road.

28. Presumably the Arzyan mountain range, north of Kars in North East Turkey.

29. Ziyadah, p. 311, n. 2, draws attention to a serious disparity between Maqrīzi here and Abū-'L-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar*, p. 121 in *R.H.C. Or.* 1, wherein he says: "In this year a battle was fought between the Khwārizmians, with whom was al-Malik al-Muzaffar Ghāzi, prince of Mayyāfāriqīn, and the army of Aleppo, supported by al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm, prince of Ḥimṣ, near al-Khābur. Al-Muzaffar Ghāzi and the Khwārizmians were put to shameful flight, the tents and women of the Khwārizmians were carried off, and the army of Aleppo and the prince of Ḥimṣ arrived in Aleppo rejoicing and victorious."

30. Again Abū-'L-Fidā', loc. cit., is at variance for he gives al-Malik al-'Azīz, not al-Zāhir Ghāzi, as the father of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf.

31. Built in 1234 as a seminary for the four orthodox rites. Hitti, *Hist.* p. 411, points out that it is almost the only structure surviving from 'Abbāsīd days, and is today used as a customs warehouse. With the Nizāmīyah institution, it survived the invasion of Hūlāgu, and was finally merged with its older sister two years after Timurlane captured Baghdad in 1393. It included a hospital and a library.

32. Ziyadah notes that the text from here to the end of the year was found written on a separate paper in the *Yeni Jāmī'* ms. between pages

80 and 81, with no sign by Maqrīzi as to where it should appear. The passage does not appear in the ms. translated by Blochet.

33, 34. Two cities in central Turkey, called today Sivas and Kayseri. They were absorbed into the Saljūq empire in A.D. 1174 on the death of the last ruler of the Turkoman dynasty of the Dānishmānds.

35. Blochet, p. 486, n. 1, points out that al-Malik al-Kāmil had never gone so far as to grant exclusive possession of the sacred Muslim sites to the Crusaders.

36. In furtherance of the design of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il and al-Nāṣir Dāwūd of Karak to wage against the Sultan of Egypt.

37. Not he who later became sultan of Egypt.

38. Ziyadah notes Qaymar as being a mountain fortress between Mosul and Khilāt, and its inhabitants Kurds. Blochet, p. 488, n. 5, describes them as a corps of mamelukes who in A.D. 1250 proclaimed al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, prince of Aleppo, as Sultan of Damascus. See also *R.H.C.*, vol. 1, pp. 130, 786.

39. Ziyadah quotes al-'Ayni, *Iqd al-Jumān*, p. 198, in *R.H.C. Or.* II, 1, as saying that the Khwārizmians pursued the Franks to Jerusalem where they attacked them "and used the sword vigorously on the inhabitants, and took captive their offspring and their women. They entered the Church known as that of the Resurrection, and they destroyed the sepulchre which the Christians believe to be the sepulchre of Christ—peace be upon Him."

40. Blochet, p. 490, n. 2, notes that this was on the orders of the sultan of Egypt (Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarraḡ*, Ar. Ms. 1703 folio 48 r° *Bibl. Nat. Paris*).

41. Presumably the Egyptian troops already in Gaza.

42. That is, the delay of the caliph in recognizing the new sultan, al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn.

43. The play is on the words *rasūl*, "messenger," a title applied to the prophet Muḥammad, and Muslim, "a Moslem," and also the name of the great traditionist, Muslim (d. A.D. 875), and *ṣaḥīḥ*, "correctly," and also the title of Muslim's collection of authentic traditions.

44. A seminomadic Berber tribe which finally, in 1269, captured Marrakesh, the capital of the Almohades in Morocco after their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula.

45. A wide stretch of land in Kermanshah.

46. See Chapter 1, n. 9.

47. A large suburb of the city outside the Bāb-al-Jābiyah.

48. Presumably to facilitate defense measures.

49. Lit. "black land." Maqrīzi here clearly intends the black lava country of the Ḥawrān, just north of Trans-Jordan, of which Buṣra is the chief city, and not the better known al-Sawād which is the alluvial plain in lower Iraq or ancient Babylonia.

50. As was seen on p. 268, this general had deserted to the services of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il with part of the sultan's army.

51. A large village in the Ghūṭah of Damascus.

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52. As a vassal of the Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn.
53. An *uqīyah*, commonly rendered okieh, was the equivalent of seven ounces.
54. Black being the traditional color of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs.
55. We have seen already that the sultan of Egypt had censured his lieutenants for ceding Baalbek to al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il.
56. The text says "al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, prince of Karak," but the lines that follow and Ibn-Wāṣil, op. cit. p. 346, require the correction.
57. A builder's technical measure.
58. The absence in the text is supplied by Ziyadah from *Enc. Isl.*, (s.v. 'Adil II); and Ibn-Wāṣil, op. cit., pp. 351-52.
59. The citadel of the Muslim town of Banyas.
60. Unidentified.
61. *Al-ḥalqah al-sultāniyah*. See Chapter 1, n. 10.
62. Ziyadah quotes Ibn-Wāṣil, op. cit., pp. 351-53, as describing this place as being a garrison town for the use of troops emerging from the desert.
63. He was, in fact, a consumptive. I am informed by Sir Ian Fraser, FRCS, that the combination is common.
64. *Jund*; this means, presumably, that he refused to make his contribution to the imperial army. Hadhayl = classical Hudhayl? The late King 'Abdullah, a Sherif at Mecca, called the tribe Hadhayl.
65. Ibn-Wāṣil, op. cit., p. 356, says '*ala buḥayrat Dimyāt*, "on the Lake of Damietta," and al Maqrīzi '*ala jīzat Damyāt*, which might well be a fault of the copyist, for *buḥayrat* and *jīzat* are very similar in Arabic writing.
66. The ejaculation "In the name of God," very frequently used at the commencement of any undertaking.
67. Sūrah XXVI: verse 227 of the Koran.
68. Sūrah XVI: verse 1 of the Koran.
69. Sūrah XXXVIII: verse 89 of the Koran.
70. Sūrah II: verse 250 of the Koran.
71. *Jisr*, often signifying a pontoon bridge.
72. In fact al-Nāṣir never saw them again (Ibn-Wāṣil, op. cit., p. 357) for they disappeared in the sack of Baghdad in A.D. 1258, when the wretched al-Musta'ṣim was compelled to indicate his hidden treasures and seven hundred concubines to Hūlāgu. But even this did not save him from execution by being trampled to death in a sack.
73. Blochet, p. 515, n. 1, observes that from this time on the sultans of Egypt used Karak as a war magazine. It became imperial property and more than once served the mameluke Sultans as a final strong base when at bay against their rebelling emirs.
74. A town between Damietta and Alexandria now called Burlus, on Lake Burlus.
75. An '*alāmah* was usually a motto, sometimes a name, which headed the rescripts of Muslim princes.
76. Taken by Ziyadah from Ibn-Wāṣil, op. cit., p. 359.

77. No doubt to narrow the passage.

78. Presumably polo, the sole distraction of Nūr-al-Dīn, the Atabeg who said: "I do not play to amuse myself, but rather for needful recreation, since a soldier cannot always be in battle. And at this game we are a-horse and ready against sudden attack by the enemy."

79. Yāqūt, III, 710, describes this place as being a small town in the extreme east of Egypt, below Bilbīs.

80. See n. 62.

81. Taken by Ziyadah from Ibn-Wāṣil, p. 361.

Chapter Eight

1. *Kātib al-Inshā'*, Chapter 1, n. 76.

2. See Chapter 7, n. 75.

3. Arabicized form of Ogodai, a Mongol name.

4. A small town on the right bank of the Damietta arm of the Nile, in sight of Lake Manzalah.

5. Blochet, p. 523, n. 3, refers to Ibn-Wāṣil, op. cit., p. 364, verso, as stating that this letter emanated from Fakhr-al-Dīn, having been drawn up by Baha'al-Dīn Zuhayr, the head of the diplomatic bureau.

6. Surah IX: verse 41.

7. Taken from Ibn Wāṣil, p. 364.

8. A village on the right bank of the Nile, twenty miles from Damietta.

9. A village six miles south of Shārimṣāḥ on the way to al-Manṣūrah where the Muslim army lay waiting.

10. This, and the other parenthetical parts of this paragraph, were taken by Ziyadah from Ibn-Wāṣil, pp. 364-65.

11. *Suwwāl*, in the sense of followers attached to no particular unit or commander.

12. See Chapter 1, n. 27.

13. *Marammah*, meaning here one of the covered galleries which Louis had built to protect the workmen constructing a pontoon to bridge the stream. The Muslims used Greek fire on them (Joinville, pp. 47, 52).

14. Ibn-Wāṣil, p. 366, also states that Muslims pointed out the ford. But al-Ayni, *Iqd al-Jumān*, p. 208 in *R.H.C. Or.* II, 1, says that the Franks were led to a ford at Salamūn by non-Muslim inhabitants of Salamūn. Joinville, p. 53, has it that a Bedouin revealed the ford for 500 bezants.

15. A hill on the south bank of the Ushmūm stream on which the Muslims had set up their mangonels. See *R. H. C. Or.* II, 1. Index and Oman, *Art of War in the Middle Ages* I, 347. Blochet, p. 526, n. 2, identifies the place with modern Guedilah, three kilometers northeast of al-Manṣūrah and less than one kilometer from the Damietta branch.

16. It was, in fact, not King Louis but his brother Count Robert of Artois, the fleur de lis of whose coat of arms confused the Muslims. For

a good account of this battle see Runciman, III, 265 et seq.; also Joinville p. 69, and Oman I, 348 et seq.

17. Lit. "island," *jazīrah*.

18. Ziyadah remarks that Maqrīzi gives further particulars of this battle in his *Khiṭaṭ* I, 219-22.

19. Tuesday night, according to our usage.

Chapter Nine

1. A town on the Euphrates 192 miles below Deir-ez-Zor and 119 above Hit. It was then flourishing and important as being the beginning of the desert journey to Palmyra in the west, as a trade station controlling the Euphrates waterway and as an agricultural oasis. The modern motor route runs south of the old caravan route, joining the Euphrates at Ramadi.

2. Not to be confused with the town of Samāwah on the lower Euphrates, south of Baghdad, on the caravan route to Basra. Here the Mesopotamian steppeland is intended, known as Bādiyat [desert] al-Samāwah or Bādiyat al-'Iraq, which eastwardly adjoins the Syrian Desert, Bādiyat al-Shām.

3. See Chapter 7, n. 73, where Tūranshāh's father, al-Sāliḥ Najm-al-Dīn, had put his war chest at Karak.

4. Accompanied by the historian Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn-Wāṣil. See op. cit., pp. 366-67.

5. *Uṣūl*.

6. A small village in the Mīnyat al-Qamḥ district, twelve miles west-northwest of Bilbis.

7. He is thinking of the ransom money he could otherwise have gained.

8. Sūrah LXXIII: verse 16.

9. Supplied by Ziyadah from Ibn-Wāṣil, p. 368. See also al-'Ayni, p. 209 in *R. H. C. Or.* II, 1.

10. *Shawāni*. See Chapter 1, n. 27.

11. A name borrowed by the Arabs from the Romans. It signified the eastern part of Barbary, the western part being designated the Maghrib. Today the word connotes all Africa.

12. Or Tlemcen, near the Moroccan frontier of Algeria.

13. Or Jativa, in Valencia, Spain.

14. Munyat 'Abduḥlāh, just north of Sharimsāh. See al-'Ayni, '*Iqd al-Jumān*', p. 210, *R.H.C.* II, 1.

15. Sūrah XXXV; verse 34.

16. Sūrah III; verse 126.

17. Sūrah XXX: verse 4.

18. Sūrah XCIII: verse 11.

19. Sūrah XIV: verse 34.

20. Sūrah XII: verse 87.

21. Taken by Ziyadah from Abū-'l-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar*, in *R. H. C. Or.* I, 129.

22. That is, a member of the order of Assassins described in Chapter 4, n. 32.

Glossary

Abū: father.

ʿAdūl: notaries.

Ahl al-dhimma: Christians, Jews, and Sabians enjoying protection and religious tolerance on payment of tribute to their Muslim rulers. See Chapter 1, n. 15.

Ajnād: soldiers of the militia. See Chapter 1, n. 19.

ʿAlāmah: a motto placed by Muslim princes at the top of their rescripts.

ʿAmāmah: a turban.

ʿAmil: an officer responsible for government accounts. See Chapter 2, n. 22.

Atabeg: the guardian or protector of a prince during his minority. See Chapter 1, n. 79.

Baḥris: a select corps of Mameluke soldiers. See Chapter 5, n. 49.

Bāṭini: an esoteric Ismāʿīlite community and doctrine. See Chapter 4, n. 41.

Butsah: a transport ship.

Dawādār: the Sultan's personal secretary. See Chapter 2, n. 28.

Dayārīyah: a tax on monasteries.

Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah: the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, and the third of the sacred months.

Dhū 'l-Qa'dah: the eleventh Muslim month.

Dīnār: a gold coin weighing 59.5 grains troy and worth something less than 10s (ca. \$1.00).

Dirham: a silver coin weighing 47.5 grains troy, and at the ratio of gold and silver then obtaining, worth about eightpence (ca. \$0.16).

Dīwān: (1) the court of the sultan or caliph; (2) a ministry, as of marine or war.

Emir or, more strictly, *amīr*: a commander or leader. See Chapter 5, n. 87, as to the ranks, appanages, and commands of emirs.

Faddān: an area a little more than an acre.

Faqīh: a Muslim theologian or jurisprudent.

Futūwah: a sort of Islamic order of chivalry. See Chapter 4, n. 28.

Ghāshiyah: a ceremonial horse-cloth. See Chapter 5, n. 32.

Hāfiz: (1) a guardian, as of a shrine; (2) one who has committed the Koran to memory.

Ḥājib: a court chamberlain. See Chapter 1, n. 82.
Ḥalqah, ajnād al-: household troops. See Chapter 2, n. 10.
Ḥarārīq: fire-ships. See Chapter 1, n. 50.
Ḥarīm: hareem or harem, i.e. the female members of a Muslim establishment.
Ḥashshāshūn, or Assassins: a secret Ismā'ilite Order. See Chapter 4, n. 32.
Hilali: a form of impost. See Chapter 1, n. 71.

Ibn: son.

Imām: a leader in prayers. Also an appellation for the caliph.

Inshā', Kātib al-: Secretary of the Diplomatic Bureau. See Chapter 1, n. 76.

Irdabb: a measure of capacity, being 5.5 bushels.

Jabal: a mountain.

Jallāb: light merchant ships used in the Red Sea.

Jallāsah: a galleass.

Jandars: a bodyguard of the sultan. See Chapter 2, n. 17.

Jihād: holy war.

Jisr: a dyke; a pontoon bridge.

Jizyah: a poll-tax.

Jumādā al-Ākhirah: the sixth Muslim month.

Jumādā al-Ūlā: the fifth month of the Muslim calendar.

Khādim: a servant, often a eunuch, and in this work one in the retinue of a sultan or prince.

Khāniqah: a convent.

Kharāj: land-tax. See Chapter 1, n. 71.

Khaṭīb: the preacher of the Friday sermon, or *khutbah*.

Khātūn: Persian word, a princess or lady of rank.

Khutbah: the sermon delivered on Fridays at the time of the midday prayer, and on the two great festivals.

Maks: a form of impost. See Chapter 1, n. 71.

Mamlūk, or *mameluke*: literally "possessed," being one of a corps of slaves converted to Islam and in the service, usually military, of the sultan.
 See Chapter 2, n. 10.

Manqūl: traditional sciences.

Ma'qūl: rational sciences.

Mammah: a large ship; a covered gallery; a shipyard.

Masra: the Coptic month of August.

Mihrāb: a niche in a wall of a mosque indicating the direction of Mecca.

Minbar: a pulpit.

Mithqāl: 4.64 grams.

Muharram: the first month of the Muslim calendar.

Muhtasib: a sort of chief of police. See Chapter 2, n. 8.

Nawrūz: Persian word, the New Year, a time of revelry.

Nāẓir: head of a government department. See Chapter 1, n. 21.

Nuḡrah: adulterated coinage. See Chapter 1, n. 9.

Parasang: an ancient Persian measure of length; about 3.25 miles.

Qabā': a long-sleeved gown.

Qaḍī: a judge administering Islamic law.

Qarāghulamīyah: a corps of military police. See Chapter 1, n. 54.

Qayṣariyah: a large building containing shops and ware-houses. See Chapter 2, n. 26.

Qinṭār: 500 pounds.

Raṭl: a weight, 3.20 kg. in Syria and 450 g. in Egypt.

Sanjaq: a standard. See Chapter 2, n. 12.

Shawānī: galleys. See Chapter 1, n. 27.

Silah dār: An emir responsible for an arsenal and bearer of the sultan's armor and arms. See Chapter 1, n. 41.

Sufun: ships (sing., *safinah*).

Sulṭān: lit. "he with authority." in the Saljūqid system the sovereign title of "sultan" was bestowed on the head of the line and overall ruler only, the vassal princes and kinsmen receiving the appellation of *malik* (king or prince).

Sūrah: a chapter of the Koran.

Ṭablkhānah: (Persian word), a military band. See Chapter 1, n. 13.

Ṭarā'id: dromonds, fast-sailing galleys.

Ṭawāshī: a eunuch, and here also a subaltern officer. See Chapter 1, n. 53.

Ṭulb: a regiment or battalion. See Chapter 5, n. 96.

Uqīyah (okieh): 7 ounces.

Ustādār: Master of the Household. See Chapter 2, n. 4.

Vizir or *wazīr*: the chief minister or counselor of state of a sultan.

Wafā': inundation (of the Nile).

Wāli: a governor.

Waqf: perpetual endowments or appropriations of property for charitable use and the service of God.

Waybah: Five bushels.

Zakāh: alms bestowed as a sanctification of the property remaining to the owner. See Chapter 1, n. 16.

Zāwīyah: an angle in a mosque where men may withdraw to pray or meditate.

Western Forms of Names Occurring in the Text

al-'Ādil — Saphadin.

'Afrabalā — Forbelet.

'Akkā — Acre.

Āmid — Diarbekir.

Anṭarsūs — Tortosa.

Arnāt — Reynaud (de Chatillon).

Asyūt — Assiut.

Aylah — Eilat on the Gulf of Aqabah.

'Ayn Jalūt — Ein Jalud.

Ba'labakk — Baalbek or Heliopolis.

Bānyās — Banyas or Belinas.

Bayṣān — Beisan or Bethsan.

Bayt al Aḥzān — House of Sorrows (the ford thereat, site of a fortress).

Buṣrā — Bostra.

al-Darb — Iconium.

Dijlah — the Tigris.

Dimashq — Damascus.

Dimyāṭ — Damietta.

Diyār Miṣr — Egypt.

al-Fārābī — Alfarabius.

al-Furāṭ — the Euphrates.

al-Fuṣṭāṭ — Misr, or old Cairo. Modern Cairo, founded in 969, was at that time the royal suburb.

Ḥalab — Aleppo.

Ḥimṣ — Emeṣa.

Ḥiṣn al-Akrād — Crac des Chevaliers.

Hunfri — Humphrey.

Ibrāhīm — Abraham.

'Isā — Jesus.

Iskandariyah — Alexandria.

al-Jawlān — Gaulantis.

al-Jizah — Gizeh.

Jubayl — Byblos.

al-Karak — Kerak.

Kawkab — Belvoir.

Maghrib — the western part of Barbary (northwestern Africa).

Miṣr — Old Cairo. See al-Fuṣṭāṭ.

Murābiṭs — Almoravides.

Mūsā — Moses.

Muwahhids — Almohades.

Nasībīn — Nisibis.

al-Naṭrūn — Latron.

Nūr-al-Dīn — Nuredin.

al-Quds — Jerusalem.

Qulzūm, Baḥr al- — the Red Sea.

Qūniyah — Iconium.

Radafrans — the King of France.

al-Rawḍah — Roda.

al-Ruhā' — Edessa.

Ṣaḥyūn — Saone.

Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn — Saladin.

Saljūq — Seljuk.

al-Shām — Syria.

al-Shaqīf — Beaufort.

al-Shawbak — Montréal.

Sumaysāt — Samosata.

Ṣūr — Tyre.

Tughtikīn — Tuldequinas.

Ṭūr, Jabal al- — Mount Tabor.

Ūd — Odo, Grand Master of the Templars.

Uswān — Aswan.

Yanbu' — Yenbo.

Zir'in — Zirin, or Le Petit Jerin.

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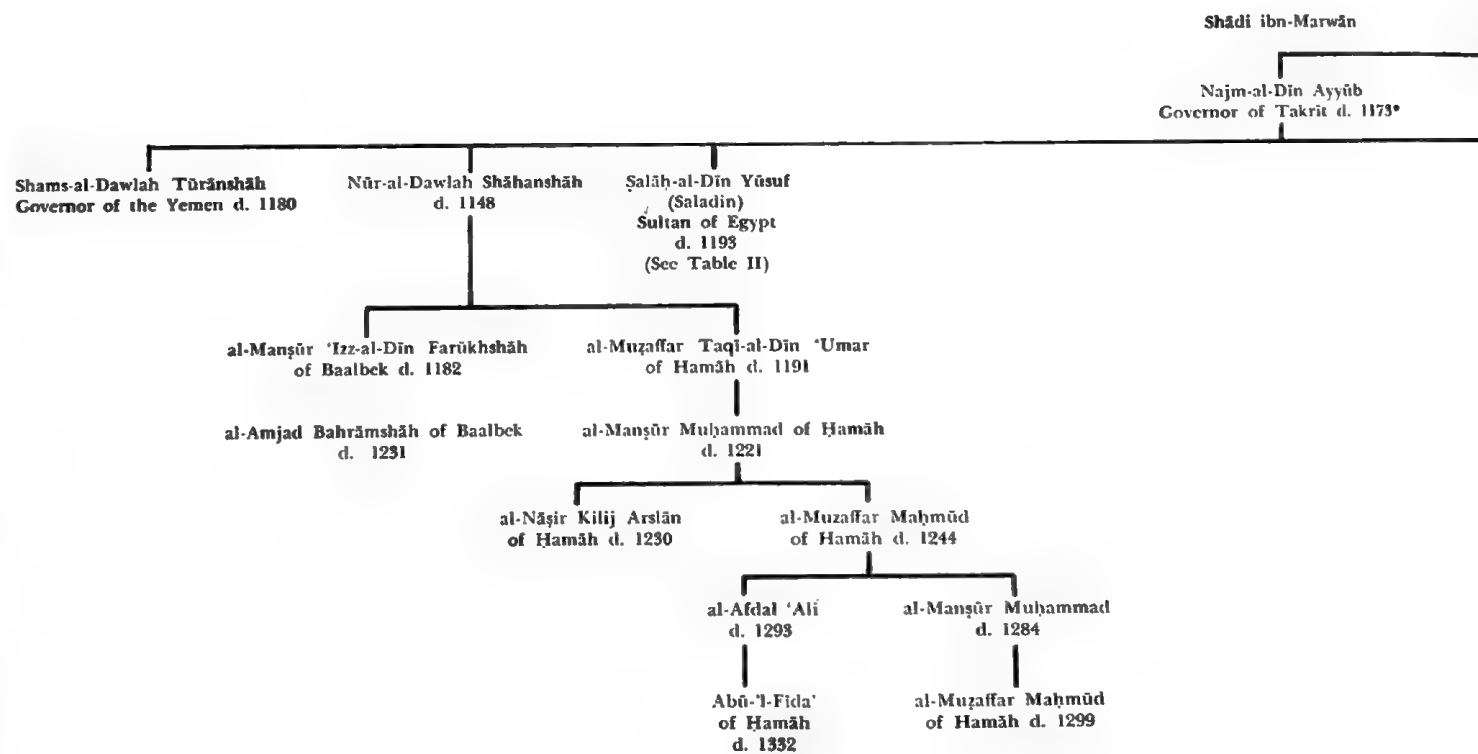
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GENEALOGY OF THE AYYÜBID HOUSE

TABLE I



*The dates in these tables are A.D.

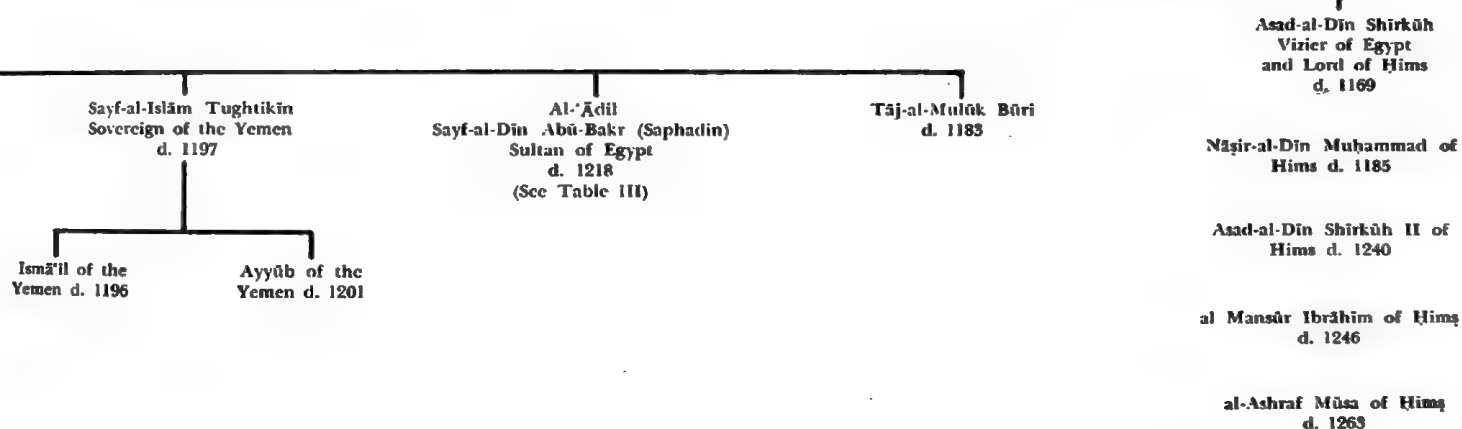


TABLE II

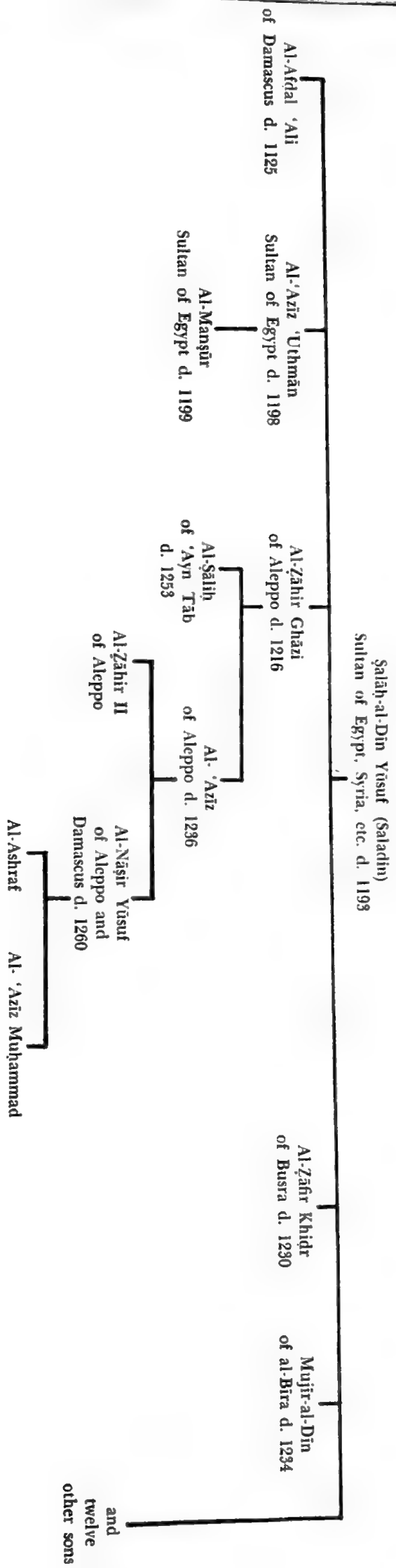
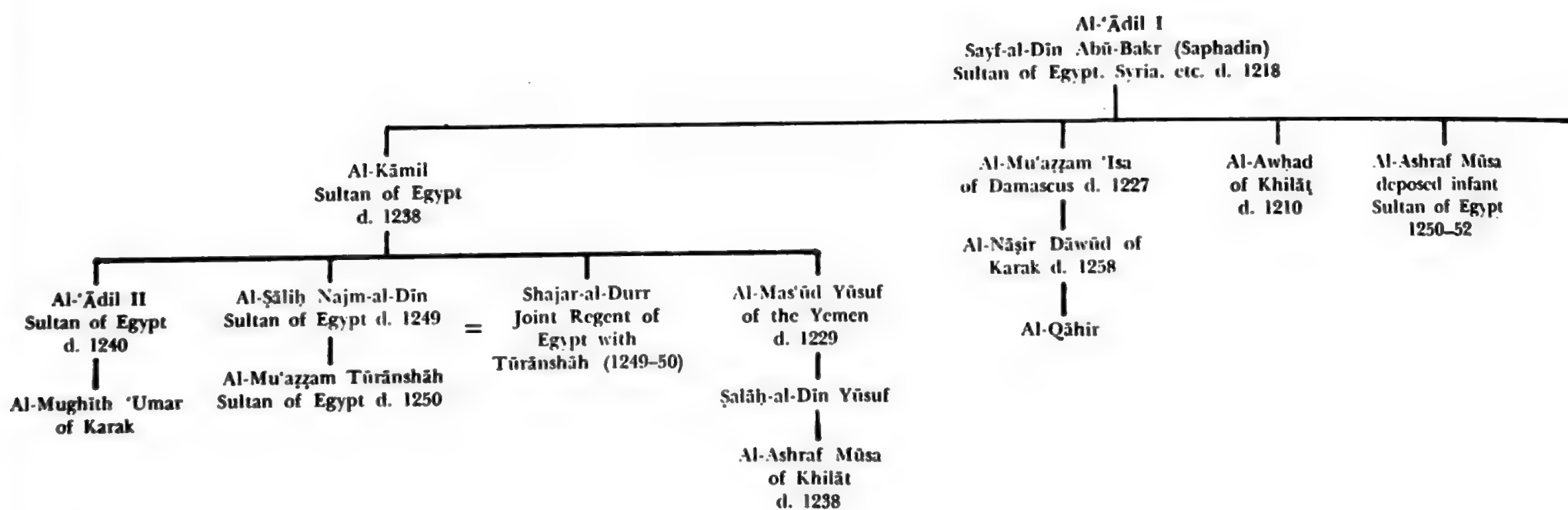


TABLE III



Al-Mughith 'Umar

Al-'Aziz 'Uthmān
of Bānyās

Al-Muḡaffar Ghāzī
of Mayyāfāriqīn
d. 1245

Al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl
of Buḡra
Inter Damascus d. 1245

Al-Jawād Shams-
al-Dīn Mawḍūd

Al-Fā'iz Ibrāhīm
of Kurdistan

Al-Ḥāfiẓ Arslān
of Ja'bar
d. 1232

and eight other sons

Al-Mughith Shihāb-al-Dīn

Al-Kāmil of
Mayyāfāriqīn

Muḡaffar-al-Dīn
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